



# **NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL**

**MONTEREY, CALIFORNIA**

## **THESIS**

**DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS AND THE MAOIST  
INSURGENCY IN ANDHRA PRADESH AND  
CHHATTISGARH: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS**

by

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December 2012

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PRADESH AND CHHATTISGARH: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS**

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**NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL  
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## **ABSTRACT**

This thesis compares development programs in two states, Andhra Pradesh and Chhattisgarh, that have been affected by the Maoist insurgency in India, also known as Naxalism. It provides a history of Naxalism as well as an examination of the various attempts to combat them in both states. While the “law and order” approach has long been preferred to counter the Naxal threat, recently there has been a shift in favor of the “hearts and minds” approach, embodied by the development programs under the Integrated Action Plan (IAP). The thesis assesses these programs across the two states and how effective they have been in obtaining their objective of reducing Naxalite violence. This thesis finds that, while the IAP schemes are still new and thus difficult to evaluate, there are many projects underway in both states despite continued Naxal activity and lack of governance in those states. The presence of good governance can indicate how quickly the IAP programs will be successful, but it does not necessarily mean that the programs will fail where governance is lacking. Violence associated with Naxalism has declined in both states recently, seemingly corresponding with the increase in governance that these programs bring to adivasi communities.

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## **LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS**

BRGF: Backward Regions Grant Fund

COBRA: Commando Battalion for Resolute Action

CPI (M): Communist Party of India (Maoist)

CPI (ML): Communist Part of India (Marxist-Leninist)

CRPF: Central Reserve Police Force

CSS: Centrally Sponsored Schemes

DFO: Divisional Forest Officer

FRA: Forest Rights Act

IAP: Integrated Action Plan

IAPMIS: Integrated Action Plan Monitoring Information System

IAY: Indira Awaas Yojana

IDP: Internally Displaced Person

IED: Improvised Explosive Device

IRB: India Reserve Battalion

LWE: Left Wing Extremism

MCC: Maoist Communist Centre

MGNREGA: Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act

MHA: Ministry of Home Affairs

MoRD: Ministry of Rural Development

NRLM: National Rural Livelihood Mission

NRRDA: National Rural Roads Development Agency

NTRO: National Technical Research Organization

PESA: Panchayats (Extension to Scheduled Areas Act)

PMGSY: Pradhan Mantri Gram Sadak Yojana

PWG: People's War Group

PPP: Public Private Partnership

SOP: Standard Operating Procedure

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# **I. INTRODUCTION**

## **A. MAJOR RESEARCH QUESTION**

This thesis examines the history behind the Naxalite, Maoist insurgency, movement and compares the counterinsurgency strategies employed in two neighboring states, Chhattisgarh and Andhra Pradesh, focusing specifically on development programs implemented through the Integrated Action Plan (IAP). In the past two years, the Indian central government has increasingly turned towards development schemes, encompassed within the IAP, as a means to disrupt the Maoist insurgency, which deters economic investment in the regions where it is active. While Andhra Pradesh has seen a relatively successful application of IAP programs, and a rapid decline in Maoist-related violence, Chhattisgarh's successes have been more tempered.

Andhra Pradesh has a long and positive history in combating Naxalism, by both paramilitary and development means. Chhattisgarh, on the other hand, has generally embraced a largely unsuccessful law and order approach, and has only recently begun to espouse development projects as a means of fighting Left Wing Extremism (LWE) under the auspices of the IAP. Furthermore, Andhra Pradesh is an older state with a relatively strong system of governance, while Chhattisgarh was founded in 2000 and has had difficulty reaching sections of its population, particularly in remote, tribal regions where Naxalism flourishes. This analysis explores the extent to which IAP programs have helped decrease Naxalite violence and the perspectives gained during the two years since the IAP's creation to help in future counterinsurgency (COIN) operations in Naxal-afflicted states. There is minimal analysis on the effectiveness of these programs has been undertaken. This thesis strives to help fill this gap.

My findings point towards economic development as being helpful in combating Naxalism. Since the IAP's implementation, violence has declined in both Andhra Pradesh and Chhattisgarh, and many have attributed this to the success of the IAP. The strong coordination between state and central governments over these development projects seems to demonstrate that backwards areas, where Naxalism has traditionally found a

following, are positively effected by the demonstration of constructive action on the part of the state. Furthermore, economic investment in the regions is on the rise, reflecting confidence on the part of businesses that their interests will be safe. The implementation has not been perfect, however, and, as I will describe in my conclusion, there has been a major push for more localized applications of IAP projects. Lastly, while the program has enjoyed considerable success in both states studied, the preexistence of state programs designed to combat the Naxals in Andhra Pradesh, reflecting a relatively strong system of governance in that state, has allowed the projects to take off more quickly and successfully than in Chhattisgarh, where well-executed anti-Naxalite programs and prominent governance are lacking historically.

## **B. IMPORTANCE**

The containment of the Maoist insurgency is a pressing concern in India's quest to expand its economy. As the government of India strives to entice large corporations to develop land traditionally inhabited and cultivated by local indigenous populations, *adivasi*, it needs to keep violent unrest at a minimum.<sup>1</sup> The Indian government is anxious to establish itself on the world's stage as one of the major superpowers, along with the United States and China, and desperate to maintain its annual growth rate of eight percent or higher in order to keep up with the global economy as well as the needs of the huge influx of young people entering the workforce. Thus, the federal government's ultimate goal in defeating the Naxals is to encourage investment in resource-rich areas, such as Andhra Pradesh and Chhattisgarh, which has been difficult to do because of Naxalite-related instability in these regions.<sup>2</sup> Without solving its internal security issues, India risks losing its rapid economic expansion. While economists speculate that India's economy could become one of the fastest growing in the next two decades, it will need to tackle Naxalism effectively in order to keep investors interested.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> D. Gopinath, "Contemporary Approaches to Economic Development: The Special Economic Zone Programme," *Local Economy* 24, nos. 6–7 (September–November 2009): 448–455.

<sup>2</sup> Amy Cheetham, "Naxalite Terrorism and its Effects on the Global Financial Markets," *Global Conference on Business and Finance Proceedings* 6:2 (2011): 216; Erich Follath, "India at Crossroads on Path to Superpower Status," *Spiegel Online International*, September 6, 2012, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Cheetham, "Naxalite Terrorism and its Effects on the Global Financial Markets," 218.



Available government and think tank publications over the past two years suggest that the Naxalite threat continues to be a serious concern for both domestic and foreign investors.<sup>4</sup> Since March 2012, there have been several major Maoist attacks, one of which involved taking foreigners hostage, drawing significant international attention and demonstrating that the Maoists continue to pose a very real threat.<sup>5</sup> Corporations are driven away not only by potentially violent insurgents but also by the possibility of having their reputations aligned with egregious human rights violations and displacement in the name of capitalism.<sup>6</sup> Human rights organizations as well as India's own government have accused the states' anti-Naxal militias of human rights abuses (the Supreme Court even made a ruling against Chhattisgarh's Salwa Judum militia group in 2011). These charges are of concern for corporations as well as the Indian government, which has received negative attention for its treatment of the adivasis and how it had dealt with the Naxalite threat.<sup>7</sup>

The safety of a state's infrastructure as well as private investors' property and employees is vital in the success of private industry. Private investors are not unaware of the threat of Naxalism; in fact, much is written about it in widely-read domestic and international publications. Maoist attacks on major investment projects, such as the one in 2009 on the India-based, multinational Essar Steel pipeline, which pumped iron ore from Chhattisgarh to Andhra Pradesh, have seriously deterred further investment in Naxalite-affected states in the recent past.<sup>8</sup> Even as recently as October 2012, the National Mineral Development Corporation, which is state-owned and operates mines in Chhattisgarh and Karnataka, expressed trepidation over "India's unpredictable domestic security landscape," due to Maoist activities that have disrupted the company's production

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<sup>4</sup> "India Infrastructure Report," (Government of India, Published by Business Monitor International Ltd., Q1-4 2010 and Q1-4 2011); "India Defence and Security Report," (Government of India, Published by Business Monitor International Ltd., Q1-4 2010, Q1-4 2011).

<sup>5</sup> Ajai Sahni, "Maoists: Enduring Strengths," *South Asia Intelligence Review* 10, no. 39 (April 2, 2012), [http://www.satp.org/satporgrp/sair/Archives/sair10/10\\_39.htm](http://www.satp.org/satporgrp/sair/Archives/sair10/10_39.htm).

<sup>6</sup> Megha Bahree. "The Forever War: Inside India's Maoist Conflict," *World Policy Journal* 27: 2 (Summer 2010): 146-154.

<sup>7</sup> Debnarayan Sarker, "The Implementation of the Forest Rights Act in India; Critical Issues," *Economic Affairs* 31:2 (2011): 25.

<sup>8</sup> Anusha Subramanian, "In the Red Corridor of Uncertainty," *Business Today*, May 16, 2010, 58-62.

previously.<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, when compared with other rising economies, such as China and Brazil, where insurgencies have been relatively well-contained, the Naxalites' actions make investment in India less attractive. Many states that are ripe for investment due to their rich mineral resources have been plagued by Naxalism; therefore, unless the government takes drastic action to significantly mitigate the insurgents' threat, the states' reputations could become permanently associated with LWE, having dire consequences for the state and national economies.<sup>10</sup>

It is in the corporations' and government's best interest to keep violence, whether at the hands of the Maoists or the government-sponsored militias, at a minimum.<sup>11</sup> Supporting successful economic development enterprises would have the potential of satisfying the government, the corporations, *and* the tribals that live in Naxal-afflicted areas. Until the recent introduction of the IAP, which strives to synthesize federal and state government efforts in establishing development projects to combat the Naxalites, the central government and state government were not well-coordinated in their responses to Naxalism.<sup>12</sup> As will be described in Chapter III, the federal government and state governments are now tied to each other through the IAP schemes, and the state governments are accountable to the federal government for its implementation. A comprehensive analysis of whether the IAP programs have helped mitigate the Naxalite threat will benefit the Indian government and investors, both domestic and foreign. Demonstrating that the projects have had success even in a state such as Chhattisgarh, a region with a poor record of fighting LWE, could help the government (both federal and state) strategize how best to combat Naxalism.

The IAP is a fairly new program, making it very difficult to understand its impact versus the impact of a solely law and order approach. There is no doubt, however, that since its implementation, Naxal-related violence has gone down in the two states, albeit

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<sup>9</sup> "India Mining Report: National Mineral Development Corporation," *Business Monitor International*, October 1, 2012.

<sup>10</sup> Cheetham, "Naxalite Terrorism and Its Effects on the Global Financial Markets," 219.

<sup>11</sup> "Chhattisgarh Steel Areas Receive Support to Combat Rebels," *Metal Bulletin Daily* 97 (February 1, 2008): 916.

<sup>12</sup> Cheetham, "Naxalite Terrorism and Its Effects on the Global Financial Markets," 220.

in one more than the other. The purpose of this thesis is to illustrate that there is a real impact because of the IAP schemes, which needs to be better understood.

### C. LITERATURE REVIEW

There is a vast body of work regarding counterinsurgency strategies. Often, authors take one of two approaches: “law and order” (or “enemy-centric”) versus “hearts and minds” (or “population-centric”). Throughout the security sector, there has been an ongoing debate over the best ways in which to combat insurgencies. The Naxalite situation is no different. There may never be full consensus on which approach, law and order (meaning the use of police and paramilitary forces to attack insurgent cells) versus hearts and minds (meaning establishing a respected governance structure), is the most effective. Many scholars and policymakers alike seem to agree that a well-thought-out combination of the two approaches makes the most sense and that no model fits all: “Importantly, the precise approach any government takes to defeat an insurgency depends very much on the character of that government...counterinsurgency is never static, always evolving.”<sup>13</sup>

The law and order approach has long been embraced by many members of the strategic and policy communities as the most effective means of bringing down an insurgency, as in the case of the Indian government’s methods for dealing with the Naxalites. The “U.S. Government Counterinsurgency Guide” describes this method as:

a contest with an organized enemy, and focuses COIN activity on the insurgent organizations. This approach emphasizes defeat of the enemy as its primary task and other activities as supporting efforts...This approach can be summarized as “first defeat the enemy, and all else will follow.”<sup>14</sup>

This method often involves “shot-gun approach” —accepting many civilian casualties while ruthlessly cracking down on the rebels.<sup>15</sup> Security experts like Paul Staniland

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<sup>13</sup> David Kilcullen, *Counterinsurgency* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2010), 1–2.

<sup>14</sup> “U.S. Government Counterinsurgency Guide,” 14.

<sup>15</sup> P.V. Ramana, “Dealing with Naxalism: ‘Shotgun Approach,’” Observer Research Foundation, January 17, 2007, <http://www.orfonline.com/cms/sites/orfonline/modules/analysis/AnalysisDetail.html?cmaid=5560&mmacmaid=5561>.

argue that force is a necessary evil in obtaining a lasting peace amongst populations affected by or susceptible to insurgency movements, often causing “a deep tension between establishing state authority and winning hearts and minds on the ground.”<sup>16</sup> Without stabilizing the affected region with force, supporters of this concept argue, no successful development projects directed at building a solid governance structure can proceed.

Meanwhile, the hearts and minds approach is concerned with developing stability within government structures / institutions in communities affected by insurgent violence. Instead of focusing on eliminating the enemy through extermination, this method attempts to address the root of the problem, so to speak, and to eliminate the enemy through providing better alternatives than those the enemy can offer, particularly in the form of strong governance structures.<sup>17</sup> Good governance is reliant on perceptions of legitimacy among the local populations: “Among the mechanisms available to counterinsurgents for establishing that legitimacy, one of the most prominent in both practice and doctrine has been the improvement of governance in the form of effective and efficient administration of government and *public services* [emphasis added].”<sup>18</sup> In terms of the Naxalite movement, presumably, if the government can successfully fill the void left by the loss of the adivasis’ land, through programs designed to support education, job creation, infrastructure development, etc., it will entice them away from joining insurgency groups:

...popular support [for insurgency] from the elites and especially the masses stems primarily from concrete grievances concerning such things as land reform, injustice, unfair taxation, and corruption. It is over these

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<sup>16</sup> Paul Staniland, “Counterinsurgency is a Bloody, Costly Business,” *Foreign Policy*, November 24, 2009, [http://afpak.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2009/11/24/counterinsurgency\\_is\\_a\\_bloody\\_costly\\_business](http://afpak.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2009/11/24/counterinsurgency_is_a_bloody_costly_business).

<sup>17</sup> See: John Nagl, David Petraeus, James Amos, U.S. Army Field Manual No. 3–24 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007); Kilcullen, *Counterinsurgency*; Lalwani, “India’s Approach to Counterinsurgency and the Naxalite Problem,” 5; “U.S. Government Counterinsurgency Guide”; George J. Kunnath, “Becoming a Naxalite in Rural Bihar: Class Struggle and Its Contradictions,” *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 33:1 (January 2006): 89–123; P.V. Ramana, “Naxalism and Internal Security in India,” *Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies* (August 4, 2007): <http://www.ipcs.org/seminar/naxalite-violence/naxalism-and-internal-security-in-india-672.html>;

<sup>18</sup> Michael Fitzsimmons, “Hard Hearts and Open Minds? Governance, Identity and the Intellectual Foundations of Counterinsurgency Strategy,” *Journal of Strategic Studies* 31:3 (2008): 338.

issues that the battle to win hearts and minds is most directly enjoined. History suggests that a government can most effectively undercut insurgencies that rely on mass support by splitting the rank and file away from the leadership through calculated reforms that address the material grievances and needs of the people.<sup>19</sup>

Because the Naxalite movement is not new, having begun in 1967, the literature describing the group's doctrines, objectives, and activities, as well as the government's attempts to combat them is fairly substantial. Much has been written regarding the Naxalites' differences from the other, politically recognized Communist Party of India (Marxist) from whom the Naxalites broke in 1967, forming the unrecognized Communist Party of India (Maoist). The core difference between the two parties revolves around the Maoists' focus on a revolution beginning in the country versus the urban centers and, more significantly, on the Maoists' promotion of violent overthrow in order to achieve their objectives.<sup>20</sup> Although the Naxalites were successfully suppressed under Indira Gandhi's regime, they reemerged with a vengeance in the 1990s, becoming more aggressive as the decade wore on, presumably in response to the increased economic activity and exploitation of lands in adivasi-controlled areas brought about by economic growth in the country. By the early 2000s, various Maoist factions determined that it would be in their best interest to join forces and united under a single banner.<sup>21</sup> Due to the success of Indira Gandhi's "iron fist" approach to Naxalism during the 1970s, as well as the triumphs of K.P.S. Gill against the insurgency in Punjab during the 1990s, the federal and state governments have long promoted the significance of abundant police and paramilitary forces as a means of bringing down insurgencies.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Bard O'Neill, *Insurgency and Terrorism: From Revolution to Apocalypse*, 2nd ed. (Washington, DC: Potomac Books, 2005): 171–172.

<sup>20</sup> Lalwani, "India's Approach to Counterinsurgency and the Naxalite Problem," *CTC Sentinel* 4:10 (October, 2011): 6.

<sup>21</sup> Jennifer L. Oetken, "Counterinsurgency against Naxalites in India," in *India and Counterinsurgency: Lessons Learned*, ed. Ganguly, Sumit and David P. Fidler (New York: Routledge, 2009), 135, 142–144.

<sup>22</sup> Oetken, "Counterinsurgency against Naxalites in India," 135, 142–144; K.P.S. Gill, "Imperatives of Justice," *South Asia Terrorism Portal*, April 30, 2005, <http://www.satp.org/satporgtp/kpsgill/governance/07june25Pio.htm>.

In his 2006 speech, which drew national attention to the escalating violence caused by the Naxalites since 2004 when they consolidated various communist insurgent factions and created the Communist Party of India (Maoist), Prime Minister Singh called for a two-pronged approach to fighting the insurgents.<sup>23</sup> According to his speech, this strategy would include both security and development elements.<sup>24</sup> Even within the text of the entire speech, however, much more time was spent discussing the security crackdown that would require coordination between the state and federal governments.<sup>25</sup> Since 2003, the Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) has been tasked with combating insurgents, with very minimal success and often more casualties than the insurgents.<sup>26</sup> Despite the government's attempts to intensify the CRPF's effectiveness with the launch of a surge called "Operation Green Hunt" in 2009, it has been largely ineffective: between 2008 and 2010, there was a 63 percent increase in Naxalite-related casualties. Thus, the government increasingly turned to paramilitary operations, such as Salwa Judum, which use aggressive and often vicious action that goes widely unchecked.<sup>27</sup>

These operations demonstrate the government's initial dedication to the law and order approach. This was due in large part to some policymakers and scholars alike who advocated the belief that without subduing militarily the Naxalites first, any economic development programs to help affected areas that might be attempted would fail.<sup>28</sup> Thus, in an apparent direct contradiction to the Prime Minister's promise that, "when it comes to making resources available for these core development activities having such a vital bearing on the welfare of the poorest sections of our community, [the] Government of

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<sup>23</sup> "Naxal Problem Needs a Holistic Approach," Press Information Bureau, Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, July 22, 2009, <http://www.pib.nic.in/newsite/erelease.aspx?relid=50833>.

<sup>24</sup> Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, "PM's Speech at the Chief Minister's Meeting on Naxalism," (speech, Chief Minister's Meeting on Naxalism, New Delhi, April 13, 2006) <http://pmindia.nic.in/speech-details.php?nodeid=302>.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Praveen Swami, "India's Counter-insurgency Conundrum," *Hindu*, July 23, 2010, <http://www.hindu.com/2010/07/23/stories/2010072354911200.htm>.

<sup>27</sup> Varun Vira, "Counterinsurgency in India: The Maoists," *Small Wars Journal* (December 7, 2011): <http://smallwarsjournal.com/jrnl/art/counterinsurgency-in-india-the-maoists>.

<sup>28</sup> "India Defence and Security Report, Q1 2010," 34.

India will not be stingy in allocating additional resources for these activities,” resources have been largely concentrated on police action:

Despite Indian official doctrine formally espousing this concept and some contentions that India has always seen COIN as a “political rather than military problem,” a closer look reveals that the Indian approach may be better characterized as a strategy of attrition with the deployment of “raw state coercion” and “enemy-centric” campaigns to suffocate an insurgency through a “saturation of forces.”<sup>29</sup>

Time and again, reports have suggested that the Naxalite issue is one of poor governance, but the government “has effectively treated the insurgency as a security concern, to be addressed primarily with paramilitary forces.”<sup>30</sup> At best, scholars seem to agree that India’s approach to fighting the insurgents has been one of trying out different formulas, without truly committing to one strategy or another: “India has been earnestly testing different COIN strategies to combat a growing Maoist threat throughout its center and east known generally as the Naxalite insurgency.”<sup>31</sup>

Though it is true that effective development projects are difficult to implement in areas rife with insurgents determined to frustrate all government efforts, no matter how beneficial they might ultimately prove, the government’s highly undisciplined and ruthless approach has garnered more enemies than it subdued.<sup>32</sup> Many scholars seem to agree that this is a classic example of Indian counterinsurgency measures, which have worked well in certain regions such as Kashmir and Punjab, but have failed in offsetting the Naxalite threat: “Only lip service is paid to Western-style population-centric strategy; CI [counterinsurgency] forces are present to target insurgents, not secure the population.”<sup>33</sup> The government-sponsored militias have frequently targeted non-affiliated indigenous peoples, alienating them and making them more likely to turn to Maoism in hopes of protection than they were before the government crackdown:

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<sup>29</sup> Lalwani, “India’s Approach to Counterinsurgency and the Naxalite Problem,” 5.

<sup>30</sup> “Jane’s Sentinel Security Assessment–South Asia: India,” Jane’s Information Group, 2012: 22.

<sup>31</sup> Lalwani, “India’s Approach to Counterinsurgency and the Naxalite Problem,” 5.

<sup>32</sup> Jay Griffiths, “Operation Green Hunt,” *Orion* 29:5 (2010): 10; Vira, “Counterinsurgency in India.”

<sup>33</sup> Vira, “Counterinsurgency in India.”

The resultant flood of ill-trained and ill-equipped soldiers conducting large-scale sweep and commando operations has exposed civilian populations to collateral damage and abuse, increased Maoist legitimacy and recruitment, and left populations open to reprisal attacks by insurgents.<sup>34</sup>

In fighting Naxalism, the state governments of Andhra Pradesh and Chhattisgarh have employed different approaches in terms of the two prongs espoused by India's federal government: one being aggressive, paramilitary and police action, and the second being the application of development programs. Andhra Pradesh has had success with both while Chhattisgarh lags behind in both categories. Both states are confronted with similar economic realities, particularly in terms of land exploitation, but different realities in terms of established, effective governance.

Much of the literature follows the government's approach when it comes to discussing the successes and failures of the COIN operations undertaken by the Indian government, focusing on the security-oriented options as opposed to the development ones. While much attention has been paid to the success of the law and order approach in Andhra Pradesh and its failure in Chhattisgarh, little has been said about the development programs in both states.<sup>35</sup> While heralding the Andhra Pradesh-based Greyhound police force as a significant reason that counterinsurgency has worked better in Andhra Pradesh than in its neighboring states, one author notes that the state also benefitted from "measurably implemented well-crafted community development programs."<sup>36</sup> Meanwhile, he highlights the government's general fixation on paramilitary options, as opposed to development ones: "Unfortunately[,] through the militarized lens of India's counterinsurgency campaign, only the warfighting elements of Andhra Pradesh's strategy have been replicated with earnest."<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Vira, "Counterinsurgency in India."

<sup>35</sup> Harinder Baweja, "Do We Want Our Troops to Get Stuck Like the Americans in Afghanistan? Interview with KPS Gill," *Tehelka Magazine* 6:42 (October 24, 2009), [http://www.tehelka.com/story\\_main43.asp?filename=Ne241009coverstory.asp](http://www.tehelka.com/story_main43.asp?filename=Ne241009coverstory.asp).

<sup>36</sup> Vira, "Counterinsurgency in India: The Maoists."

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.



Clearly, more analysis is needed in order to assess the value of India's IAP programs in order to implement them more effectively and justify their expense. This paper's intention is not to decide whether the law and order approach to combating Naxalism trumps an approach focused on development. Instead, I strive to analyze the hearts and minds approach (which centers heavily on development) through the lens of public services centered around development programs in the newly-implemented Integrated Action Plan programs in Andhra Pradesh and Chhattisgarh, both of which historically have been hotbeds of Maoist activity but which have taken relatively different approaches towards fighting them in the past.

Since 2006, when Prime Minister Singh declared, "It would not be an exaggeration to say that the problem of naxalism is the single biggest internal security challenge ever faced by our country," a number of initiatives have been undertaken at both the state and federal levels to try to mitigate the growing Maoist insurgency.<sup>38</sup> While solutions to the Maoist insurgency have been widely debated, there does not appear to be a consensus on the best way to combat the Naxalites. Scholars and policymakers alike have reached similar conclusions on what has caused the rise in violence since the early 2000s, however: rapid and relatively unchecked expansion of privatization of tribal lands to be used for economic development.<sup>39</sup>

Because Andhra Pradesh is largely considered a "success story" in terms of combating the Naxalites, its methods in fighting the insurgents have been studied in depth.<sup>40</sup> Much attention has been paid to the state's Greyhound security force, specifically trained in the art of guerilla warfare, for example.<sup>41</sup> In an entire chapter written by Jennifer Oetken dedicated to COIN operations designed to combat Naxalism, however, there is no mention made of alternatives to the militarized approach; not even in the case of Andhra Pradesh, which has been acknowledged as having not only a superior

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<sup>38</sup> Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, "PM's Speech at the Chief Minister's Meeting on Naxalism."

<sup>39</sup> Bahree, "The Forever War," 84.

<sup>40</sup> Jennifer L. Oetken, "Counterinsurgency against Naxalites in India," 148.

<sup>41</sup> Oetken, "Counterinsurgency against Naxalites in India," 148–149; Vira, "Counterinsurgency in India."

police force but also better implementation of development programs relative to other Maoist insurgency-affected states.<sup>42</sup> One author even goes so far as to caution that the government should not waste too many valuable resources attempting to replicate the Greyhounds' success because strong evidence exists to suggest that the Greyhounds merely succeeded in driving the Naxalites into neighboring states, like Chhattisgarh, instead of quenching the movement altogether, and due to the fact that "a recent...survey of five northern districts of Andhra Pradesh recently cleared of Maoist insurgents," showed that, "the majority of those surveyed still sympathized with Naxalite motives, methods, and results."<sup>43</sup>

Due to the backlash caused by the government's up-until-now preferred militaristic approach towards subduing the Naxalites, particularly after the advent of "Operation Green Hunt," the tides are turning in favor of developmental solutions to the problems that the Maoists pose: "India has admittedly prioritized rural development—elevating its ministry to a cabinet level position in 2011—and significantly increased allocations to Maoist-affected areas through targeted entitlements."<sup>44</sup> This pivot in the direction of development projects can be seen in the government's press releases over the past year and a half, as well as in its actions. In the most recent economic survey, it notes that India's central government's spending on social services and rural development has increased from 13.38 percent of the total budget in 2006–2007 to 18.47 percent of the total budget in 2011–2012.<sup>45</sup>

Very recently, the federal government has adopted various IAP programs, which contain a multi-faceted approach based around development programs.<sup>46</sup> The IAP grants large discretionary funds (\$460 million for 2011–2012, alone) to states (for states to use in designated Naxal-affected districts) that have been deemed as threatened by the

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<sup>42</sup> Oetken, "Counterinsurgency against Naxalites in India," 127–150.

<sup>43</sup> Lalwani, "India's Approach to Counterinsurgency and the Naxalite Problem," 8.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> "Economic Survey of India, 2011–2012," Government of India, Ministry of Finance, [indiabudget.nic.in/es2011-12/echap-01.pdf](http://indiabudget.nic.in/es2011-12/echap-01.pdf).

<sup>46</sup> "Integrated Action Plan Needed to Check Naxalism: Raman Singh," *Indian Express*, November 20, 2011.

Naxalites, then: “District officers can use the money to provide facilities like drinking water, electricity, roads, sanitation and health services.”<sup>47</sup> The IAP funds are meant to help fund new development projects, as well as to support pre-existing ones, such as the Forest Rights Act (FRA), the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA), and the Pradhan Mantri Gramin Sadak Yojana Act (PMGSY), which is a road construction project.<sup>48</sup> Currently, there are over 70,706 projects being sponsored in affected areas and 48,992 have been completed, demonstrating that the program can work.<sup>49</sup>

In states with a history of good governance relative to other states where the Naxalites are active, such as Andhra Pradesh, the IAP schemes have been effectively used to combat the insurgents, evidenced through a dramatic decrease in Maoist-related violence. In the eight Naxalite-affected districts in Andhra Pradesh that have received IAP funding alone, the local governments have established the Department of Remote and Interior Areas Development (RIAD) and the Integrated Tribal Development Agencies (ITDAs), which have “focused on strengthening of infrastructure in the areas of Transport, Communication, Schools, Hostels, Health, Youth employment etc., in remote and interior areas. Massive land distribution to tribals is undertaken. Welfare and Developmental programmes are implemented effectively in all remote and interior areas.”<sup>50</sup> Of the nine states targeted by the IAP, Andhra Pradesh is “second in performance with over 77% utilisation of Central funds.”<sup>51</sup> In Chhattisgarh, where Naxalite violence continues to be a major problem and where governance is not nearly as

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<sup>47</sup> Eric Randolph, “Development, Security and Maoist Insurgency,” *Current Intelligence*, July 11, 2011, <http://www.currentintelligence.net/features/2011/7/11/development-security-and-maoist-insurgency.html>.

<sup>48</sup> Iftikhar Gilan and Samarth Saran, “PM Admits ‘Lack of Security’ in Naxal-Affected Areas,” *Tehelka Magazine* (September 13, 2011); Iftikhar Gilan, “Centre Pumps Money to Negate Naxal Influence,” *Tehelka Magazine* (November 26, 2010).

<sup>49</sup> “Integrated Action Plan for Maoist-Hit Districts a Success,” *Daily News and Analysis*, May 9, 2012, [http://www.dnaindia.com/india/report\\_integrated-action-plan-for-maoist-hit-districts-a-success-govt\\_1686610-all](http://www.dnaindia.com/india/report_integrated-action-plan-for-maoist-hit-districts-a-success-govt_1686610-all).

<sup>50</sup> Chief Minister Mr. N. Kiran Kumar Reddy, “Speech at the Conference of Chief Ministers on Internal Security,” (New Delhi, April 16, 2012): <http://cm.ap.gov.in/16apr12speech.asp>.

<sup>51</sup> “Home Minister P Chidambaram’s Initiative for Maoist-Hit Areas a Big Success,” *Economic Times (Online)*, July 9, 2011.

well established as in Andhra Pradesh, only 51 percent of the designated IAP funds have been appropriated; still, given its history with anti-Naxal operations, this is a huge improvement for Chhattisgarh.<sup>52</sup>

As the IAP-sponsored programs are relatively new, there is little available scholarly literature on their implications for the anti-Naxalite movement. Most information about the implementation of the IAP comes from newspaper / online articles or official government documents. No comprehensive academic study assessing the programs' successes. Although there is evidence of widespread corruption in states that the IAP projects aim to help, as well as Maoist attacks linked to combating the delivery of aid/disrupt the development programs that are a part of the IAP, the positive impact of these programs in disturbing the Maoist insurgency should not be underestimated: "... sincere development is appreciated – in February 2011 the Maoist abduction of a district collector known for being an efficient and honest administrator led to tribal rallies and protests, forcing his release."<sup>53</sup> Recent comments by government officials suggest that the government is pleased with the IAP programs': "The ambitious Integrated Action Plan for Naxal-hit districts for developing infrastructure has been a success, Home Minister P. Chidambaram said."<sup>54</sup>

In addition, within the academic community, there is a lack of literature dedicated to the effectiveness of development programs in combating insurgencies: "Despite the important role that development projects are beginning to play in counterinsurgency efforts, there is very limited empirical evidence on the subject."<sup>55</sup> Although the Indian government's traditional response to Naxalism has been one of law and order, the lack of success in many of the hardest-hit regions demonstrates the need for a different approach (or at least an additional approach in conjunction with a security-oriented one):

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<sup>52</sup> "Home Minister P Chidambaram's Initiative for Maoist-Hit Areas a Big Success," *Economic Times (Online)*, July 9, 2011.

<sup>53</sup> Vira, "Counterinsurgency in India."

<sup>54</sup> "Integrated Action Plan for Naxal-Hit Districts a Success: Chidambaram" *Hindu*, May 9, 2012.

<sup>55</sup> Andrew Beath, Fotinin Christia, Ruben Enikolopov, "Winning Hearts and Minds? Evidence from a Field Experiment in Afghanistan" (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Massachusetts Institute of Technology: Political Science Department, 2011), 2.

The Naxalite insurgency—posturing itself as a “people’s war”—comports more with classic COIN theory that was built on notions of competitive state building to address economic and governance deficiencies. In step with their historical experience, however, the Indian state has generally favored a more kinetic approach to counterinsurgency over winning “hearts and minds.”<sup>56</sup>

With its recent pivot towards development as a means of fighting against the Naxalites, as opposed to the previously preferred war of attrition, there needs to be a deeper understanding of the costs and benefits of the programs funded by the IAP in order to make their application as effective and efficient as possible. This paper will help contribute to that effort.

#### **D. METHODS AND SOURCES**

This thesis compares economic development programs in two states that have been affected by Naxalism, Andhra Pradesh and Chhattisgarh. In recent years, Maoist attacks in both states have declined, but in one state, Andhra Pradesh, this has been more rapid. My findings lead me to believe that the successful introduction of Integrated Action Plan schemes has assisted in this decline, but also that a strong preexisting governance structure and anti-Naxalite development operations has made the drop in Naxal-related violence faster in Andhra Pradesh than in Chhattisgarh.

I have consulted a variety of sources in reaching my conclusions: scholarly journals, policy papers, newspaper articles, government reports, economic activity reports, as well as books on the history of the insurgency and resources addressing economic development as a means of combating insurgencies, more generally.

#### **E. THESIS OVERVIEW**

I begin my thesis with a brief history of the Maoist insurgency in India as well as in Andhra Pradesh and Chhattisgarh. Chapter II explores the possible explanations for the Naxalites’ appeal and the various attempts to curb their influence, using the law and order and/or hearts and minds approaches. In Chapter III, I discuss the goals of the federal and

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<sup>56</sup> Lalwani, “India’s Approach to Counterinsurgency and the Naxalite Problem,” 6.

state governments in terms of the IAP programs and have specific sections on Andhra Pradesh and Chhattisgarh, as well as how successful the government(s) has been in implementing them, and how successful they have been in terms of projects completed. In Chapter IV, I examine the reasons for the successes and failures of the IAP. Chapter IV allows me to focus on areas in which the government (possibly private investors, as well) should concentrate its resources and how it should do so (i.e., by making the programs more localized) in order to make economic development as efficient as possible in fighting against the Maoists and continuing to attract industrial investments in the years ahead.

## II. THE HISTORY OF INDIA'S ATTEMPTS TO COMBAT THE NAXALITE MOVEMENT

### A. ORIGINS OF NAXALISM

Since the Naxalite movement began in 1967 in a village called Naxalbari in West Bengal, the primary cause of its success has been one thing: a lack of governance.<sup>57</sup> As is the case with today's Naxal movement, historically, the movement has found the most traction with people who have been marginalized by the government, particularly tribal peoples living in rural regions. Since before India's creation as an independent nation, the adivasi have been denied their rights to their land, traditionally the source of their livelihood and have found it difficult to find employment elsewhere.<sup>58</sup> Before the recent enactment of the Forest Rights Act (FRA) in 2008, discussed in greater detail below, the adivasis were granted limited and ineffectual rights under the Indian Forest Act (1927), which required a tedious process in order to be recognized as having land rights. For those who did not complete this process, and this was the majority of tribal peoples, their lands could be seized by the government and resold at any time, resulting in the tribals' eviction from their land and loss of any source of income that came with it.<sup>59</sup>

As India has embraced neo-liberal capitalism, beginning in 1991 but intensifying in the early 2000s with the introduction of the Special Economic Zone program, the government has sold many forested tribal lands to private industries, often without the approval of the adivasi.<sup>60</sup> The rapid economic expansion in India of the past decade has led to increased alienation of the peasant class and indigenous population, who see little of the benefits of the growth of industry in their geographical areas. This has led to the reemergence of the Naxalites: "The constant expansion of the gap between the rich and

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<sup>57</sup> "Decades After Mao's Death, India's Communist Guerillas Cling to Ideology," *International Business Times: U.S. Edition*, June 29, 2012.

<sup>58</sup> Anuradha M. Chenoy and Kamal A. Mitra Chenoy, *Maoist and Other Armed Conflicts* (New Delhi: Penguin Books India, 2010), 57.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> Archana Prasad, "The Political Economy of 'Maoist Violence' in Chhattisgarh," *Social Scientist* 38 (March–April 2010): 6–7; Gopinath, "Contemporary Approaches to Economic Development," 448–455.

poor and the continued exploitation of the Indian working class are the two main Naxalites [*sic*] grievances.”<sup>61</sup> In states such as Andhra Pradesh and Chhattisgarh, the tribal lands appeal to major industries because of their rich mineral deposits and the relative ease with which they can obtain land and exploit its natural resources.<sup>62</sup> The systematic disenfranchisement of local tribal populations by major national and international corporations, such as Tata Steel, Reliance Industries Limited, and Jindal Steel and Power, creates an excellent environment for Maoist recruitment to occur. Naxalites can easily recruit from “the peasant farmer and poor working class [who are] unable to benefit from the resources available on their own land.”<sup>63</sup>

The fact that tribals compose only nine percent of India’s population but that over 40 percent of new development projects are on tribal land is telling.<sup>64</sup> While the government and corporations claim that their presence in these rural and “backwards” communities will bring new economic opportunities and help develop infrastructure, there seems little evidence to support this: “None of the ore extracted, is used locally; in fact, most is exported to Japan. And not one paisa of the fat royalties got by the government [from the corporations] goes towards development of the area. Such then is the impact of the ‘developmental’ projects on the locals.”<sup>65</sup> Not surprisingly, “The five states in which the movement [Naxalism] is strongest account for 85% of India’s coal deposits.”<sup>66</sup>

By marginalizing them for decades, there is massive dislike and distrust of the state: “Wherever state institutions are weak or have been discredited in the eyes of the

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<sup>61</sup> Cheetham, “Naxalite Terrorism and its Effects on the Global Financial Markets,” 219.

<sup>62</sup> Prasad, “The Political Economy of ‘Maoist Violence’ in Chhattisgarh,” 14.

<sup>63</sup> Cheetham, “Naxalite Terrorism and its Effects on the Global Financial Markets,” 219.

<sup>64</sup> Neelesh Misra and Rahul Pandita, *The Absent State: Insurgency as an Excuse for Misgovernance* (Gurgaon, India: Hachette India Publishers, 2010), 56.

<sup>65</sup> Bahree, “The Forever War,” 86–87; “New People’s Power in Dandakaranya: A Report on the Ongoing Developmental Activities Undertaken through the New Organs of Power, Led by the CPI (ML) [People’s War],” *A People’s March Publication* (2000): 4.

<sup>66</sup> Jacob Hamstra, editor, “Naxal-blight” *The Economist Intelligence Unit Ltd.: Business India Intelligence* 14:6 (March 21, 2007): 7–8.



local people, the Maoists seize the opportunity.”<sup>67</sup> The Naxalites have methodically taken advantage of tribals’ isolation and suspicion of the state over many years:

This is where the Naxalites got in and entrenched themselves with arms, imposing their will—in the beginning to restore land and harvests to the tribals, but later to construct their own idea of a Marxist collective state on the body of tribal political and economic weaknesses. Over decades, tribals were conditioned to recognize Naxals as the “State” and the rest, including the government, as enemies.<sup>68</sup>

The Naxalite movement has been operational in different capacities for so long that it has created its own, highly organized governmental structure, which takes advantage of the lack of governance in rural, backwards areas. This is, perhaps, the best example of just how deeply linked the Naxal problem is to a lack of governance.

From village committees, to a judicial system, to local militias, which act as policing agents, the Maoists have sought to provide the tribals with what the government has either been unable or unwilling to give them. In Chhattisgarh, this kind of behavior from the Naxals led to the creation of the vigilante Salwa Judum group, which will be discussed in greater detail below.<sup>69</sup> Still, when the government is not present, though, the people have no one to turn to but the Maoists who provide basic services.<sup>70</sup>

It is important to note when tracing the history of Naxalism and attempting to uncover the best ways in which to fight against it is that “The cause for rebellion varies from state to state,” and that “Each state also has unique land, zoning, industrial and security policies that drive both Maoist impulses and government responses.”<sup>71</sup> Until the last few years, both states were synonymous with Naxalism; now, while Chhattisgarh continues to experience high levels of violence related to the insurgency, Andhra Pradesh has suppressed the movement relatively successfully.<sup>72</sup> The driver of the success of the

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<sup>67</sup> Chenoy, *Maoist and Other Armed Conflicts*, 59.

<sup>68</sup> “Strong Central Policy a Must to Curb Naxalism,” *New Indian Express*, April 29, 2012.

<sup>69</sup> P.C. Joshi, *Naxalism at a Glance* (New Delhi: Kalpaz Publications: 2012), 203–204.

<sup>70</sup> Chenoy, *Maoist and Other Armed Conflicts*, 60–61.

<sup>71</sup> “Talking Peace with Maoists,” *Mint*, May 4, 2012.

<sup>72</sup> Lalwani, “India’s Approach to Counterinsurgency and the Naxalite Problem,” 6–8.

Naxals in all affected states originally stemmed from the same root cause: the government's historical neglect of the tribal population over land rights and employment issues.<sup>73</sup> Over the years, this dynamic has changed somewhat in Andhra Pradesh; in large part due to the central and state governments' early paramilitary and development programs to combat Naxalism, which led to stronger governance there: "the AP success story was also attributable to a comprehensive strategy encompassing military tactics supported by a successful surrender and rehabilitation package, brought into force way back in 1999."<sup>74</sup> Still, "while states follow a rigid geography, rebels do not,"<sup>75</sup> as is certainly the case in Chhattisgarh and Andhra Pradesh, where Naxal leadership hides out whilst conducting operations in neighboring and less secure Chhattisgarh; the Naxals of these states have always worked together closely.<sup>76</sup> So, while Naxalism has seen a significant decline in Andhra Pradesh, it does not mean it has disappeared, and it could just be that its forces are spreading to neighboring states.<sup>77</sup>

While the government has sold off tribal lands to private corporations, it has simultaneously shirked its responsibilities to the inhabitants, which "also provides the context for the political vacuum that has prevailed in the area since independence and enabled the Maoists to extend their influence in the fringe forest areas."<sup>78</sup> The Maoists promise the local adivasi populations who reside in the areas most affected by the relatively unchecked growth of industry that they will protect the locals' land from "powerful corporate interests."<sup>79</sup>

In states like Chhattisgarh and Andhra Pradesh, which have large adivasi populations that have experienced displacement, the frustrated inhabitants are obvious

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<sup>73</sup> Joshi, *Naxalism at a Glance*, 9; Nilakantha Rath, "Economic Origin of Regional and Caste Parties," *Economic and Political Weekly*, July 28, 2012.

<sup>74</sup> Dr. N.C. Asthana and Dr. Anjali Nirmal, *India's Internal Security: The Actual Concerns* (Jaipur, India: Pointer Publishers, 2012), 203.

<sup>75</sup> "Talking Peace with Maoists," *Mint*, May 4, 2012.

<sup>76</sup> Joshi, *Naxalism at a Glance*, 120.

<sup>77</sup> Asthana and Nirmal, *India's Internal Security: The Actual Concerns*, 203.

<sup>78</sup> Prasad, "The Political Economy of 'Maoist Violence' in Chhattisgarh," 15.

<sup>79</sup> "Intensifying Insurgency," *Economist Intelligence Unit Ltd.: Business India Intelligence* (June 2, 2010): 3-4.

targets for radicals.<sup>80</sup> With their violent opposition to the Indian government's relatively recent embrace of liberal capitalism, the Maoists provide a kind of "buffer zone" between the tribal people and the corporations that wish to take their land: "They are characterized as the only major stumbling block to the neo-liberal policies which were going to sell of [*sic*] land and natural resources to [the] corporate sector."<sup>81</sup> Many of those who have been driven off of their land rely on it for their livelihoods and, with no education to fall back on, have no hope for survival. These residents now are forced to live in displacement camps, refugees in their own country, operated by government militia groups, where opportunities for work are minimal.<sup>82</sup> The locals' attraction to a group who opposes the policies that have led to displacement is understandable. In theory, then, reversing the trend of disenfranchisement and displacement would help the government negate the Naxalites' influence since it is the absence of state services (meaning effective education, health care, and justice systems, to name a few) in these areas that has led to their success.<sup>83</sup>

Though India's constitution has provisions "for the social, political and cultural rights," of the adivasi, in reality, the government does not provide guarantees for their rights to resources on their lands.<sup>84</sup> In 2006, the Indian government passed the Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, also known as the Forest Rights Act (FRA), in an attempt to remedy the "'historical injustice' done to the forest dwellers by the failure to recognise their rights."<sup>85</sup> The FRA was intended to reverse the decades-long trend, reinforced by the ineffectiveness of the Indian Forest Act, of the exclusion of the adivasi and ensure that rights to their land are guaranteed to residents of the tribal, forested regions and that "forest communities shall

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<sup>80</sup> Prasad, "The Political Economy of 'Maoist Violence' in Chhattisgarh," 4.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>82</sup> Bahree, "The Forever War," 87.

<sup>83</sup> Prasad, "The Political Economy of 'Maoist Violence' in Chhattisgarh," 16.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

<sup>85</sup> Debnarayan Sarker, "The Implementation of the Forest Rights Act in India; Critical Issues," *Economic Affairs* 31:2 (2011): 25.

not be removed or evicted from the forest land till the recognition and verification procedure is over.”<sup>86</sup>

While the FRA is considered to be in full force, the actual enforcement of the Act has been mediocre at best, however, with the government granting large swaths of forested land to major industries without consultation with or proper compensation for the local populations.<sup>87</sup> The FRA remains the law of the land in both Andhra Pradesh and Chhattisgarh and has enjoyed a relative amount of success in these states when compared to others, but the fact remains that its implementation has been patchy with, “corruption resulting in the diversion of forest land into developmental projects and commercial plantations without recognition of the rights of local communities.”<sup>88</sup> The failures of the FRA to protect the tribals’ lands and to properly compensate the residents (with money, land, jobs, or infrastructure projects, all of which the government has promised on many occasions to local populations affected by a major industry’s acquisition of their land) when the government makes guarantees to major industries for the use of forested land has led many residents to threaten to take up arms in protest.<sup>89</sup>

Although the FRA was issued the same year that Prime Minister Singh declared the Naxal threat to be India’s greatest internal security threat, whether or not the FRA was implemented specifically as a measure to combat Naxalism is unclear. The areas where it has taken effect, however, are by and large those that have experienced Maoist activity. While it seems likely that the FRA was meant to aid communities affected by the Maoist insurgency by bolstering industry and spurring economic development, unlike with other government projects, there is no explicit mention of Naxalism made in FRA-related government materials. Furthermore, there appears to be no clear link between the successful implementation of the Act and a downturn in violent Maoist uprisings.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> Tushar Dash, “The Ineffective Forest Rights Act” *Economic Times*, April 24, 2010, <http://economictimes.indiatimes.com/opinion/guest-writer/the-ineffective-forest-rights-act/articleshow/5851232.cms>.

<sup>87</sup> Prunima Tripathi, “Battle of Bastar,” *Frontline* 29:8 (April 21–May 4, 2012): 1–6.

<sup>88</sup> Sarker, “The Implementation of the Forest Rights Act in India,” 28.

<sup>89</sup> Tripathi, “Battle of Bastar,” 1–6.

<sup>90</sup> Sarker, “The Implementation of the Forest Rights Act in India,” 27.

Andhra Pradesh and Chhattisgarh have very similar records of implementation of the FRA, for example, but the communist activities in the regions in recent years have been very different.<sup>91</sup> While Andhra Pradesh has seen a significant reduction in Naxal-related violence, the Maoist insurgency in Chhattisgarh has remained relatively constant and has increasingly targeted high profile victims. This suggests that some other element is responsible for the difference in outcomes in COIN engagements in these states. Thus, the FRA is perhaps best viewed as one of the many failed government economic development programs designed to aid the populations most affected by Naxalism in advance of the introduction of the Integrated Action Plan (to be discussed in more detail in Chapter III).

Since the government began its crackdown on the insurgents in 2005, it has had a fair amount of success in putting down the insurgency in certain areas with intense police and government-supported paramilitary/militia campaigns. The Salwa Judum, which translates to “Purification Hunt,” is a government-sponsored militia in Chhattisgarh that has used often-brutal methods to root out the Naxalites.<sup>92</sup> The tactics used by the Salwa Judum have been criticized as violating human rights and have often had the opposite of their intended effect, inciting more people into violence. The government has spent most of its efforts and funding on violence-based counter-insurgency measures, as opposed to more “ground up” endeavors aimed at building a solid governance structure with “an effective, impartial police force,” for example.<sup>93</sup>

The Naxalites are hardly innocent, however, and frequently employ terror tactics against villagers and those living in IDP camps, guarded by the Salwa Judum, to discourage cooperation with the government.<sup>94</sup> Furthermore, despite the government’s offer to conduct talks with the Naxalites to attempt to resolve their differences, the Naxalites refuse to halt their violent approaches for talks to occur.<sup>95</sup> Unlike the

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<sup>91</sup> Ibid., 27.

<sup>92</sup> Oetken, “Counterinsurgency against Naxalites in India,” 147.

<sup>93</sup> Bahree, “The Forever War,” 88.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid., 87.

<sup>95</sup> Bahree, “The Forever War,” 88.

Communist Party of India (Marxist), the Communist Party of India (Maoist) has no desire to work within the existing government structure to promote its ideologies, instead favoring “direct conflict between the state and themselves.”<sup>96</sup> In areas where the Naxalites have, in fact, taken over successfully, they have established parallel governments, “janrata sarkars,” which persecute those identified as supporting the state and have seized land in methods not dissimilar to the government in order to support their army.<sup>97</sup> The equality that the Maoists espouse is not always evident in their practices, where dissidence is not tolerated.<sup>98</sup> The Maoists’ attempts at economic reforms through land distribution and altering the methods of crop production in order to create an autonomous peasant class actually mirror “government programmes following similar strategies,” with limited success.<sup>99</sup> Thus, in more ways than one, once the Naxalites have filled the governance vacuum in a region, their behavior mimics that of the government and corporations whose practices they have pledged to reverse and overthrow.

Due to the backlash against intense, unchecked police and government-supported paramilitary violence, the government has begun emphasizing alternative options which target the “root” of the problem: land seizure by the government for private corporations, which has led to widespread displacement and increased poverty.<sup>100</sup> Two years ago, the Indian government launched an Integrated Action Plan for Selected Tribal and Backwards Districts program in the areas most affected by subversive communist activity: “Under the IAP, the government undertakes projects in drinking water, electrification, sanitation, school infrastructure and anganwadi centres.”<sup>101</sup> This is more closely in conjunction with other counterinsurgency doctrines favored by Western nations, such as the United States, whose “winning the hearts and minds approach,” has

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<sup>96</sup> Prasad, “The Political Economy of ‘Maoist Violence’ in Chhattisgarh,” 17–18.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid., 18.

<sup>98</sup> Chenoy, *Maoist and Other Armed Conflicts*, 68–69.

<sup>99</sup> Prasad, “The Political Economy of ‘Maoist Violence’ in Chhattisgarh,” 19.

<sup>100</sup> Bahree, “The Forever War,” 84; Prasad, “The Political Economy of ‘Maoist Violence’ in Chhattisgarh,” 4.

<sup>101</sup> Vijay Simha, “Centre Extends Helping Hand to More Naxal-Hit Areas,” *Tehelka*, December 8, 2011.

been, by and large, considered successful.<sup>102</sup> Along with police action, it appears as though these programs have had a positive impact in areas where they have been implemented effectively.

Comparing Andhra Pradesh and Chhattisgarh is important because, although they are very different in terms of past histories in terms of combating LWE, they have both had success in implementing the IAP schemes. While Andhra Pradesh's past positive experience in countering the Maoist threat gives it an advantage in the process, Chhattisgarh can now boast some success in this arena as well. Thus, it should be encouraging to note that states in which governance has been lacking still have a chance at challenging the allure that Naxalism holds to many in rural, backwards districts.

### **1. Andhra Pradesh**

Communism has a lengthy history in Andhra Pradesh, as does the state's attempts to combat it. The Naxalite movement originated in West Bengal but found support in Andhra Pradesh from the beginning, when the Naxal leadership from West Bengal moved into an underdeveloped, exploited tribal area in the northern part of Andhra Pradesh.<sup>103</sup> Andhra Pradesh has a large adivasi population, comprising over six percent of the country's total tribal population.<sup>104</sup> Out of the approximately 76 million people living in the state, about 5 million of them are considered tribal forest-dwellers.<sup>105</sup> About 85 percent of the tribals in Andhra Pradesh rely on the land for their livelihoods. Because of the tribals' long history of political, social, and economic exclusion and neglect, discussed above, and because of frustration due to the unequal distribution of wealth, "a

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<sup>102</sup> "U.S. Government Counterinsurgency Guide," (Bureau of Political-Military Affairs, Department of State, Washington, D.C., January 2009).

<sup>103</sup> E. A. S. Sarma, "The Adivasi, the State and the Naxalite: Case of Andhra Pradesh," *Economic and Political Weekly* 41:15 (April 15–21, 2006): 1434–1437.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid.

<sup>105</sup> M Gopinath Reddy, K Anil Kumar, P Trinadha Rao & Oliver Springate-Baginski, "Issues Related to the Implementation of the Forest Rights Act in Andhra Pradesh," *Economic and Political Weekly* (April 30, 2011).

large section of people are angry and feel alienated from the polity.”<sup>106</sup> For decades, the adivasis in Andhra Pradesh, as in many other states, have consistently seen their land given away to landlords or corporations who have no tribal affiliation.<sup>107</sup> They are thus attracted to the Maoists’ message that the Indian government is imperialist and needs to be violently overthrown if the native population ever hopes to have free and equal access to land that is historically theirs.<sup>108</sup>

Viewing statistics posted on Andhra Pradesh’s website for its Ministry of Tribal Affairs (known as the Tribal Welfare Department), one can see the areas in which the state has historically lagged behind the country as a whole in terms of basic services provided to the adivasi who live there. The literacy rate, for example, for the tribal peoples of Andhra Pradesh was rated at 37.04 percent in 2001 (the most recent survey available) versus the general population of the country, which was 60.47 percent (the general population of the state had a 60.5 percent literacy rate).<sup>109</sup> Additionally, from the available data, it is possible to see that over the past 30 years or so, the situation for the adivasi population in Andhra Pradesh has improved significantly, *but* that for many years, some basic services generally provided by the state, were seriously lacking. The amount of land operated by the tribal people has increased substantially, for example, but for many years was very minimal.<sup>110</sup> Furthermore, the number of wells available to the tribals has gone from 2100 hectares in 1981 to 3,335,600 hectares in 1996.<sup>111</sup>

Because the movement has existed in the state for over four decades, the state has had substantial time to try out a variety of tactics to fight against it, which will be discussed in greater detail below.<sup>112</sup> Additionally, the state has become relatively

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<sup>106</sup> “Report of the Expert Group to the Planning Commission on Prevention of Alienation of Tribal Land and Its Restoration,” Planning Commission, Government of India, April 2008, [http://planningcommission.nic.in/reports/publications/rep\\_dce.pdf](http://planningcommission.nic.in/reports/publications/rep_dce.pdf).

<sup>107</sup> “The Unending Struggle of Bastar Adivasis,” *Daily News and Analysis*, May 4, 2012.

<sup>108</sup> Chenoy, *Maoist and Other Armed Conflicts*, 58.

<sup>109</sup> “Literacy Rates of Schedule Tribes in Andhra Pradesh from 1961 Census to 2001 Census,” Tribal Welfare Department of Andhra Pradesh: <http://www.aptribes.gov.in/bsliteracy6101.html>.

<sup>110</sup> Tribal Welfare Department of Andhra Pradesh: <http://www.aptribes.gov.in/basicstats.html>.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>112</sup> Chenoy, *Maoist and Other Armed Conflicts*, 56.



developed over the past 40 years compared to other states in which the Maoists are still very active. One can see the positive changes in Andhra Pradesh's rural poverty levels over the past two decades in the Ministry of Finance's most recent Economic Survey (2011–2012), which shows that rural poverty has been reduced from 48.1 percent in 1993–1994 to 32.3 percent in 2004–2005.<sup>113</sup> Chhattisgarh, on the other hand, has not had similar success in terms of poverty reduction; its rural poverty levels have remained virtually stagnant, going from 55.9 percent in 1993–1994 to 55.1 percent in 2004–2005.<sup>114</sup> Furthermore, since the late 1950s, there have been multiple attempts to protect adivasis' land rights specifically in Andhra Pradesh, beginning with the Andhra Pradesh Scheduled Areas Land Transfer Regulation of 1959 through the Panchayats (Extension to Scheduled Areas Act) (PESA) of 1996.<sup>115</sup> These demonstrate, to some extent at least, the government's efforts to protect the tribal communities from exploitation brought about by unchecked development; these acts, however, have largely been ignored or unsuccessful, illustrated by the preponderance of them. Thus, the Communist Party of India (Maoist) (CPI(M)), which is the banned political party representing the Naxalite movement, has a significant presence in the rural areas of Andhra Pradesh, although because the party is illegal, it is impossible to know exactly how many followers it has.<sup>116</sup>

During the period following the “Emergency,” the late 1970s, Andhra Pradesh served as a “ground zero” for rebuilding the Naxalite movement. In 1980, the People's War Group (PWG), now known as the Communist Party of India (Maoist) (CPI(M)), was formed in Telangana, a region in the northern part of the state. Telangana still has the most active Maoist population today. It subsequently spread to Bihar and now has its most active base in Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand.<sup>117</sup> Throughout this period, the Maoists

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<sup>113</sup> “Economic Survey of India, 2011–2012,” Government of India, Ministry of Finance, 310, [indiabudget.nic.in/es2011-12/echap-13.pdf](http://indiabudget.nic.in/es2011-12/echap-13.pdf).

<sup>114</sup> Ibid.

<sup>115</sup> Seema Mundoli, “Impacts of Government Policies on Sustenance of Tribal People in the Eastern Ghats,” *Samata* (January 2011): 11–14.

<sup>116</sup> Joshi, *Naxalism at a Glance*, 84.

<sup>117</sup> Manoranjan Mohanty, “Challenges of Revolutionary Violence: The Naxalite Movement in Perspective,” *Economic and Political Weekly*, 41:29 (Jul. 22–28, 2006): 3165.

employed open revolutionary mass organizations in Bihar and Andhra Pradesh to reestablish themselves and were “the main organs of mass mobilization both in the rural and urban areas.”<sup>118</sup> These “open” organizations, which “openly propagate the politics of the New Democratic Revolution and prepare the people for armed struggle,” were largely responsible for the reemergence of Naxalism and its spread during the 1980s and early 1990s, after which Andhra Pradesh banned the movement and the open parties had to go underground.<sup>119</sup>

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, the PWG consistently relied on violence in order to obtain its objectives. By 1987, the total number of Naxalites in Andhra Pradesh was estimated at 5000. Between 1983 and 1987, it is estimated that the PWG, “had murdered 200 people including 35 policemen in Andhra alone.”<sup>120</sup> This ultimately inspired the state to undertake a massive anti-Naxal campaign beginning in the late 1980s and expanding in the late 1990s, which will be discussed in greater detail below.<sup>121</sup> Despite the crackdown on Naxalism in Andhra Pradesh throughout the 1990s, the leadership of the PWG was determined to unify the various Maoist factions throughout the country in order to establish a stronger foothold amongst the exploited population and, thus, have more success in fighting against the government and industrialists developing tribal lands.<sup>122</sup>

Although relatively quiet during the 1990s, when India’s government was shifting towards more neo-liberal economic practices, the Naxalites were still building up forces and biding their time. They succeeded with their goal of unification in the early 2000s with the merger of the PWG and the Maoist Communist Centre (MCC), based out of Bihar, in 2004.<sup>123</sup> In that same year, the government of Andhra Pradesh attempted

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<sup>118</sup> “Excerpts from the ‘Urban Perspective Plan’ 2004 of CPI (Maoist),” in *Naxalism at a Glance*, P.C. Joshi (New Delhi: Kalpaz Publications, 2012), 258.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid., 258–259.

<sup>120</sup> Joshi, *Naxalism at a Glance*, 59.

<sup>121</sup> Misra and Pandita, *The Absent State*, 14.

<sup>122</sup> Col. JK Achuthan, “Tackling Maoists: The Andhra Paradigm,” *Indian Defence Review* 25:2 (April–June 2010): 1.

<sup>123</sup> Joshi, *Naxalism at a Glance*, 63.

several rounds of peace talks with the Naxalites. All of these attempts failed, but are an implicit recognition of the negative impact that the Naxalite movement has had within Andhra Pradesh. Naxalism is still considered a problem in Andhra Pradesh, but is no longer a central theme in the state, unlike in Chhattisgarh.

## 2. Chhattisgarh

While Chhattisgarh is a relatively new state, the links between the region and communism are also deeply rooted. The state was founded in 2000 after breaking away from Madhya Pradesh in the hopes of harvesting the region that now makes up Chhattisgarh's many resources more effectively and providing the adivasis more political freedom. Furthermore, it was believed that a smaller state would mean more efficient governance.<sup>124</sup> Chhattisgarh, which has one of the most prolific Naxalite populations, also has the "largest proportion of adivasi [tribal] people...barring India's north-east."<sup>125</sup> The adivasi population in the state has been routinely denied their constitutionally-guaranteed rights to "a share in government jobs proportionate to their population," and is grossly underrepresented in the state's political body.<sup>126</sup> Furthermore, the issue of tribal lands, which have been taken over by the government as "Special Economic Zones" and often sold off to corporations without compensation to the adivasis, has become a hot button issue for the Maoists in Chhattisgarh: "Land alienation and disputes between tribal and non-tribal population and the endless legal redress process is a key cause of increased Naxal influence."<sup>127</sup> In Chhattisgarh, ironically, the government's attempts at economic development have led it to withdraw from areas in order to make room for private industry, leading to a lack of governance and creating the perfect space for Naxalism to thrive<sup>128</sup>: "Naxal movement gathered momentum in MP [now Chhattisgarh] in 1977 only

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<sup>124</sup> "States Are Falling Apart in Federal India," *Merinews (India)* (October 3, 2012).

<sup>125</sup> Supriya Sharma, "Adivasi Predicament in Chhattisgarh," *Economic and Political Weekly*, January 14, 2012, 1.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, 1–2.

<sup>127</sup> Urmi Goswami, "Centre Turns Attention to Resolving Land Disputes in Maoist Areas," *Economic Times*, September 22, 2012.

<sup>128</sup> Archana Prasad, "The Political Economy of 'Maoist Violence' in Chhattisgarh," *Social Scientist* 38 (March–April 2010): 3–24.

after the tribals were displaced again and again from their ancestral forest homes for making way to developmental programmes etc.”<sup>129</sup>

## **B. HISTORY OF ANTI-NAXALITE COUNTERINSURGENCY OPERATIONS: FOCUS ON MILITANCY**

One part of Mao’s ideology that the Naxals seem to have maintained throughout their struggle, however, is the concept of protracted guerilla warfare, using Mao’s “five-minute attack” strategy, which “consists of a sudden onslaught, a brief and furious interval of fighting, and then the assault is broken off as suddenly as it began and the guerillas rapidly retire, having inflicted as many casualties and taken as many arms as possible during the stated time but not lingering even a minute for more.”<sup>130</sup> The Indian government has never fully grasped how to deal with this sort of struggle, which is how Naxalism has been maintained, despite huge counterinsurgency security and, to a significantly lesser degree, development attempts.<sup>131</sup> The government appears to finally be coming to terms with the fact that the elimination of the guerilla movement cannot be swift and all-inclusive, as it seems to have wished in the past, however. In its most recent Annual Report, the Ministry of Home Affairs acknowledges that, “this is a long drawn out battle and needs to be persevered with both in terms of operations against the armed elements as well as the all round development of LWE affected areas.”<sup>132</sup>

Despite the government’s best attempts at both federal and state levels since the movement began, it Naxalism has lingered on. The government has declared the Naxalites terrorists and has prohibited their existence under the Unlawful Activities Act due to their refusal to give up violence as a primary tactic.<sup>133</sup> Virtually all of these laws have been aimed at giving “the armed forces special powers not available under the

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<sup>129</sup> Joshi, *Naxalism at a Glance*, 120.

<sup>130</sup> Robert Taber, *War of the Flea: The Classic Study of Guerilla Warfare* (Dulles, Virginia: Brassey’s, Inc., 2002), 48; “6 CRPF Personnel Killed, 9 Injured in Maoist Ambush,” *Jagran Post*, October 19, 2012.

<sup>131</sup> Asthana and Nirmal, *India’s Internal Security*, 192–209.

<sup>132</sup> “Annual Report 2011–12,” Ministry of Rural Development: Government of India, 6: [http://www.rural.nic.in/sites/downloads/annual-report/Annual\\_Report\\_2011\\_12\\_E.pdf](http://www.rural.nic.in/sites/downloads/annual-report/Annual_Report_2011_12_E.pdf).

<sup>133</sup> Chenoy, *Maoist and Other Armed Conflicts*, 58.

Indian Constitution, so that they can deal with such” rebellions.<sup>134</sup> Perhaps the most notorious of such acts was the Maintenance of Internal Security Act (MISA), passed in 1971. Indira Gandhi used this act to justify her incredibly repressive regime during the 1970s,<sup>135</sup> which “aimed at bringing the Naxalite leadership to its knees.”<sup>136</sup> From 1975–1977, a Proclamation of Emergency (martial law) was declared, enabling the government to arrest people without charging them with any crime.<sup>137</sup> During this time, many of the leaders of the Naxal movement were arrested, but many of the movement’s followers simply went underground. By the end of what is known simply as “the Emergency,” the Naxalites were released from prison and went on to reestablish themselves and the Naxal insurgency movement.<sup>138</sup>

The Indian government has consistently relied on the law and order approach in its COIN operations to deal with LWE, in terms of both laws passed and government-supported operations. Brutality is not uncommon in the history of the anti-Naxal operations: “Various means that include encounter killings, disappearance, rape and destruction of livelihood have been employed to punish insurgents.”<sup>139</sup> So-called “encounter killings,” which is when police kill a suspected militant and then call it an “encounter,” meaning an actual conflict between militants and the police, have been common in anti-Naxal operations since the 1960s.<sup>140</sup> Such tactics have led insurgents to go underground and has left innocents vulnerable to attack, since it is difficult for the police to distinguish between the Maoist insurgents and civilians. Another problem with the government’s law and order approach has been that the troops committed to fighting the insurgents are typically not from the region in which they are stationed and thus

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<sup>134</sup> Chenoy, *Maoist and Other Armed Conflicts*, 80.

<sup>135</sup> Joshi, *Naxalism at a Glance*, 9.

<sup>136</sup> Misra and Pandita, *The Absent State*, 14.

<sup>137</sup> Chenoy, *Maoist and Other Armed Conflicts*, 83.

<sup>138</sup> Nicolas Jaoul, “Naxalism in Bihar: From Bullet to Ballot,” in *Armed Militias of South Asia: Fundamentalists, Maoists and Separatists*, ed. Laurent Gayer and Christophe Jaffrelot (New Delhi: Foundation Books, 2009), 25.

<sup>139</sup> Chenoy, *Maoist and Other Armed Conflicts*, 78.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, 94.

believe the whole village as involved in the rebellion.<sup>141</sup> Because of this, the villagers in districts such as Raipur and Dantewada begin to sympathize with the rebels, who are frequently from the community or have spent much time there in an attempt to build up a support base, or take up arms in support of them in order to fight against the oppressive paramilitary forces.

Despite its record of failure in using the law and order approach in its attempts to bring down the Naxals, the government has hardly turned its back on police / militia operations in terms of combating Naxalism, although it still does not seem to have come up with a long-term strategic plan for how to fight the Maoists militarily.<sup>142</sup> The commencement of so-called “Operation Greenhunt,” a surge in CRPF’s anti-Naxal operations, in 2009 is proof of this. In October 2012, the central government announced that it would add another 10,000 CRPF troops to its anti-Naxal operations, joining the 75,000 troops already designated to that assignment.<sup>143</sup> Unfortunately, despite large-scale efforts to attract new recruits in combating LWE, specifically from Naxal-affected areas in an effort to pull them away from the perceived opportunities joining the Maoists could offer, the government has barely filled any of the positions, which is partially a matter of applicants failing the entrance exams and partially a matter of people failing to apply in the first place.<sup>144</sup>

Additionally, the government is investing in new technology to aid in its anti-LWE quest. The Ministry of Home Affairs has just approved Naxal-affected states to acquire helicopters to assist in their anti-Naxal operations.<sup>145</sup> Meanwhile in Chhattisgarh, the National Technical Research Organization (NTRO) has established a base specifically for monitoring and combating Maoist cadres, both by foot and by

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<sup>141</sup> Chenoy, *Maoist and Other Armed Conflicts*, 79.

<sup>142</sup> “Battle Against Maoists: Need for Better Operational Plan,” *Kashmir Times*, July 9, 2012.

<sup>143</sup> “Government to Deploy 10,000 CRPF Troopers for Anti-Naxal Operations,” *Jagran Post*, October 31, 2012.

<sup>144</sup> Deeptiman Tiwary, “Paramilitary Scrounges for Recruits,” *Times of India*, October 30, 2012; “15,000 Posts of Cops from Naxal, Other Areas Still Vacant,” *Economic Times*, November 27, 2012.

<sup>145</sup> “Allowing Maoist-Hit States to Acquire Helicopters,” Press Information Bureau, Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, August 22, 2012.

Unarmed Aerial Vehicles (UAVs).<sup>146</sup> It is believed that this new operation will help with intelligence gathering and sharing and help prevent such attacks as the one in June 2012. Despite all of its investments in training and technology, the Naxalites' guerilla warfare tactics as well as a lack of intelligence remain the greatest hindrances to the government's law and order crackdown in LWE-affected areas.<sup>147</sup> Until very recently, the despite its claims of commitment to the dual approach of law and order as well as development, India's government has "overwhelmingly relied on brute force without recognizing that the insurgency feeds on Adivasi dispossession and brutalization."<sup>148</sup>

### **1. Andhra Pradesh**

In terms of the militaristic approach to combating the Naxalites, Andhra Pradesh is considered the ultimate success story, with its highly-trained Greyhound paramilitary forces. Formed in 1989 as a separate, elite commando force, the Greyhounds' focus was always directed at the Naxalites, with an understanding of the Maoists' "protracted war model."<sup>149</sup> Additionally, all police in the state receive anti-Naxal training at Greyhound facilities to help fight against the Naxal threat. Members of the Greyhounds are given additional pay to motivate them. Furthermore, the state has invested in sophisticated weaponry and armor for this force. They have their own, localized, command structure that allows them to react to threats quickly, without having to wait for directives from a central command.<sup>150</sup> By all accounts, the Greyhounds have succeeded in combating Naxals where they thrive, in forested tribal areas, which is something that no other anti-Naxal police force can boast.<sup>151</sup> For example, between 2008 and 2009, the number of Naxalites in the state fell from about 1000 to 400.<sup>152</sup> Even with their excellent training,

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<sup>146</sup> "First NTRO Station Set Up in Chhattisgarh," *Jagran Post*, October 31, 2012.

<sup>147</sup> Asthana and Nirmal, *India's Internal Security: The Actual Concerns* (Jaipur, India: Pointer Publishers, 2012), 199–200.

<sup>148</sup> Praful Bidwai, "The Nation," *The Daily Star*, July 20, 2012.

<sup>149</sup> "Andhra Model: The State Shows How It Can Be Done by Formulating an All-Round and Successful Strategy to Deal with the Maoist Menace," *India Today*, April 19, 2010.

<sup>150</sup> Achuthan, "Tackling the Maoists."

<sup>151</sup> Vinita Priyadershi, "Fighting Left Wing Extremism Through Special Task Forces," Centre for Land Warfare Studies, December 8, 2009.

<sup>152</sup> "Greyhounds Must Be Replicated in Other States," *Times of India* (September 3, 2009).

the Greyhounds' tactics are far from perfect, with "encounter killings" being a frequent occurrence.<sup>153</sup> More than any training that the troops received, however, it appears that the Andhra Pradesh's advanced State Intelligence Bureau is largely responsible for the state's successes in combating the Naxals<sup>154</sup>: "It does not have any rigid territorial restrictions and can follow up any leads. The intelligence setup has been provided with competent officers, ample funds, and necessary technical backup."<sup>155</sup>

While Andhra Pradesh's use of the Greyhounds has been heralded by many as an example for how others should conduct their COIN operations and as proof that a strong militaristic approach is the best way to eliminate the Naxal threat, there is growing evidence that the Naxalites are simply reformulating their strategies.<sup>156</sup> Many of the Naxal leaders who help carry out operations in neighboring states, specifically Chhattisgarh, are based in Andhra Pradesh. In fact, in late October 2012, two high-ranking Naxal commanders surrendered to police in Chhattisgarh, reporting that the senior cadres of the movement were based in Andhra Pradesh.<sup>157</sup> Attacks along the borders of Andhra Pradesh and neighboring states are a frequent occurrence and have become increasingly sophisticated, with the use of improvised explosive devices (IEDs) becoming more and more common.<sup>158</sup> This leads one to speculate that the Naxal problem has not disappeared in Andhra Pradesh, but that those involved have merely gone into hiding and figured out effective ways to support their mission without incurring the wrath of the state's paramilitary police force: "it should not be forgotten that the so-called eradication of the naxal problem from Andhra Pradesh was partly a tactical retreat. They [the Naxals] simply crossed the border into neighboring states."<sup>159</sup> This

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<sup>153</sup> Chenoy, *Maoist and Other Armed Conflicts*, 94.

<sup>154</sup> Asthana and Nirmal, *India's Internal Security*, 203.

<sup>155</sup> Achuthan, "Tackling the Maoists."

<sup>156</sup> A.K. Verma, "Reds Are Here to Stay," *Telegraph*, October 16, 2012.

<sup>157</sup> "Two Naxal Commanders Surrender in Chhattisgarh," *Jagran Post*, October 29, 2012: <http://post.jagran.com/Two-Naxal-commanders-surrender-in-Chhattisgarh-1351504734>.

<sup>158</sup> "Naxals Ambush CRPF Men," *Asian Age*, November 28, 2012.

<sup>159</sup> Asthana and Nirmal, *India's Internal Security*, 203.



demonstrates that, in order to combat Naxalism at its roots and prevent it from returning in the future, different strategies need to be employed to eliminate it permanently.

## 2. Chhattisgarh

Meanwhile, Chhattisgarh's use of the Central Reserve Police Forces (CRPF), "the country's largest paramilitary force," and its support of the Salwa Judum (basically a vigilante group that has been condemned by human rights groups worldwide), has been largely unsuccessful and has likely created more enemies than it has eliminated.<sup>160</sup> During 2005–2008 in Chhattisgarh, the Salwa Judum took charge of counter-Naxalite operations, in coordination with the CRPF. At best, it is a paramilitary police force, a more extreme version of Andhra Pradesh's Greyhounds.<sup>161</sup> At worst, it is a "vigilante outfit," that has, "formal state policy sanction," that "appears to be the product of an alliance between international and national mining interests and the local elites, capitalizing on local inter-tribe rivalries, mediated by national and state policymakers."<sup>162</sup> Under the Salwa Judum's command, virtually anyone could be labeled a Naxalite.<sup>163</sup> It was not just the Salwa Judum inflicting terrible violence on the population of Chhattisgarh, however; the Naxalites were and are guilty of numerous atrocities as well, such as the April 2010 massacre of 76 CRPF officers in the Dantewada of the state.<sup>164</sup> The essential reign of terror inflicted by both the Salwa Judum and the Naxalites in LWE-affected districts of Chhattisgarh led to the displacement of entire villages for internally displaced persons (IDPs), run by the Salwa Judum.<sup>165</sup> These camps have largely served to create more insurgents, however. In 2011, in response to the

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<sup>160</sup> "Government to Deploy 10,000 CRPF Troopers for Anti-Naxal Operations," *Jagran Post*, October 31, 2012.

<sup>161</sup> Manoranjan Mohanty, "Challenges of Revolutionary Violence: The Naxalite Movement in Perspective," *Economic and Political Weekly*, 41:29 (Jul. 22–28, 2006): 3165.

<sup>162</sup> Anant Maringanti, "Talks Between the Maoists and the State: Learning from the Andhra Experience," *Economic and Political Weekly*, August 21, 2010.

<sup>163</sup> Javed Iqbal, "A Short History of Fear and Madness in Bastar: The Killing of Alleged Maoists on June 28 is Only the Latest in a Series of Atrocities Against Adivasi Villagers," *Daily News & Analysis Sunday*, July 8, 2012.

<sup>164</sup> "Dantewada Massacre: The Post-mortem," *NDTV*, April 7, 2010: <http://www.ndtv.com/article/india/dantewada-massacre-the-post-mortem-19434>.

<sup>165</sup> Iqbal, "A Short History of Fear and Madness in Bastar."

Salwa Judum's abusive measures in fighting against the Naxalites, including reports of human rights violations against tribals, some of whom were Naxalites but some of whom were not, India's Supreme Court ruled that Chhattisgarh cease its support for the organization.<sup>166</sup> Going one step further, the Supreme Court also ruled that Chhattisgarh end its sponsorship of "Special Police Officers" (SPOs), which is what members of the Salwa Judum were considered, because of the inadequacy of training they receive from the state, placing them at risk of incurring and inflicting human rights violations.<sup>167</sup>

In the wake of the outlawing of the Salwa Judum, the CRPF has not fared well in Chhattisgarh, either. Part of the problem is that the CRPF was "Not originally created to counter local insurgency" and "it must depend on local police for the success of the mantra 'clear, hold, develop.'"<sup>168</sup> The CRPF works with state police in carrying out anti-Naxal operations, in a manner that is often disjointed and reflects an astonishing lack of intelligence and misinformation.<sup>169</sup>

The failure of the CRPF and local police forces to successfully restrain the Naxals and win the support of the local population it is designated to serve is perhaps best exemplified by the June 28, 2012 massacre of local villagers during which 18–19 innocent, non-Naxalites were killed by CRPF officers in the state's Bijapur district, while the number of extremists reported dead has been contested.<sup>170</sup> The CRPF originally defended its officers' actions, saying that the Maoists fired first and that it is the organization's standard operating procedure (SOP) to fire in such circumstances since the Naxalites commonly use "human shields," which can include women and children, to protect themselves.<sup>171</sup> Whether or not this was an "encounter killing" has not been

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<sup>166</sup> "Out of the Indian Womb," *Hindustan Times Blogs*, July 10, 2012; Joshi, *Naxalism at a Glance*, 204.

<sup>167</sup> "A Blow for Constitutionalism: The State Can No Longer Use Vigilante Groups to Combat Militancy," *Economic and Political Weekly*, July 16, 2011.

<sup>168</sup> Verma, "Reds Are Here to Stay."

<sup>169</sup> Asthana and Nirmal, *India's Internal Security*, 195–196; Chenoy, *Maoist and Other Armed Conflicts*, 77.

<sup>170</sup> Iqbal, "A Short History of Fear and Madness in Bastar,"; "Meet to Form Naxal Standard Operating Procedures on July 13," *Times of India*, July 6, 2012.

<sup>171</sup> Nishit Dholabhai, "Human Shield Review After 'Mix-Up'; CRPF to Take Fresh Look at Operating Procedures Following Chhattisgarh Encounter," *Telegraph (India)*, July 4, 2012.

confirmed, however, the practice is very common in Chhattisgarh.<sup>172</sup> The CRPF incurred six casualties, as well.<sup>173</sup> In response to this incident, many different groups have expressed outrage about how the state's government has conducted anti-Naxalite maneuvers, with Tribal Affairs Minister Deo describing them as "notorious."<sup>174</sup> The incident prompted a re-evaluation of CRPF SOPs to be used in such situations where civilians used as human shields may be involved; a meeting was held in with high-ranking officials from all nine LWE-affected states in attendance.<sup>175</sup> The new SOPs call for better reconnaissance in alleged Naxal-affected areas to determine the presence of Naxalites and/or civilians before beginning an operation.<sup>176</sup>

### **C. HISTORY OF ANTI-NAXALITE COUNTERINSURGENCY OPERATIONS: FOCUS ON HEARTS AND MINDS**

While police operations remain a vital part of India's COIN operations against the Naxalites, the tide seems to be turning against the more militant approach and in favor of a development-centered one. With the condemnation of many police actions in LWE-affected states, there has been outcry not just from the local tribal communities directly impacted by the viciousness of many of the CRPF's operations, as well as from the domestic and international human rights communities, but also from within the Indian government itself:

It [the anti-Naxalite procedures] has come in for scathing criticism from an Expert Group of the Planning Commission. The Group holds: "The methods chosen by the government to deal with the Maoist phenomenon [have] increased the people's distrust of the police and consequent unrest. Protest against police harassment is itself a major instance of unrest frequently leading to further violence by the police, which in effect triggers a second round of the spiral."<sup>177</sup>

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<sup>172</sup> Chenoy, *Maoist and Other Armed Conflicts*, 94.

<sup>173</sup> "Meet to Form Naxal Standard Operating Procedures on July 13," *Times of India*, July 6, 2012.

<sup>174</sup> Nishit Dholabhai, "Human Shield Review After 'Mix-Up'; CRPF to Take Fresh Look at Operating Procedures Following Chhattisgarh Encounter," *Telegraph (India)*, July 4, 2012.

<sup>175</sup> "Anti-Maoist Operations Norms Likely to be Formulated Today," *Times of India*, July 13, 2012.

<sup>176</sup> "Chhattisgarh Encounter: CRPF Notifies New SOPs for Naxal Ops," *Jagran Post*, September 10, 2012.

<sup>177</sup> Praful Bidwai, "The Nation," *Daily Star*, July 20, 2012.

It is no wonder, then, that in recent years, the central government has begun to emphasize a more holistic approach in its fights against the Maoist insurgents: “It is the belief of the Government of India that a combination of calibrated police action [between the central and state governments], focused development efforts and improvement in governance will yield the desired results against the LWE.”<sup>178</sup>

In order to fill the void left by a lack of strong governance in Naxalite-affected areas, the government is beginning to focus more and more on development-oriented solutions to the LWE problems because when the government is present and people’s basic needs are being met, Maoists have less sway.<sup>179</sup> While there has always been an economic development component in the government’s anti-Naxalite strategy, it has been managed very ineffectively, with funds often disappearing inexplicably:

It’s not that the government hasn’t pumped development funds into these areas...Around 11 percent of the budget of the Ministry of Rural Development in recent years has been allocated to insurgency-affected districts...but the central government does little to monitor its use. In 2006–07, when we first began our three-year investigation into development funds in the insurgency-affected areas of India, we found that Rs 5,800 crore has been disbursed to some one hundred and fifty-two districts across twelve of India’s twenty-nine states. But, out of that, at least Rs 2,700 crore had not been used.<sup>180</sup>

In recent years, the Central Government has turned its attention to a new style of economic development in dealing with poverty, using a “people-centred, demand-driven architecture, completely different from the earlier rural employment programs.”<sup>181</sup> The first of such programs was the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA), begun in 2006 under the Eleventh Five Year Action Plan. While this program and others like it, known as Centrally Sponsored Schemes (CSS), are not all directly linked to COIN movements, they have similar structures to that of the IAP, in

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<sup>178</sup> “CPMFs Deployed in Naxal Affected Regions of Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand,” Press Information Bureau, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India, August 8, 2012.

<sup>179</sup> Chenoy, *Maoist and Other Armed Conflicts*, 61.

<sup>180</sup> Misra and Pandita, *The Absent State*, 1.

<sup>181</sup> “Faster, Sustainable and More Inclusive Growth: An Approach to the Twelfth Five Year Plan,” Government of India, Planning Commission (October 2011): 5, [http://planningcommission.gov.in/plans/planrel/12appdrft/approach\\_12plan.pdf](http://planningcommission.gov.in/plans/planrel/12appdrft/approach_12plan.pdf).

that they “are implemented by State Government agencies, but are largely funded by the Central Government with a defined State Government share” and their goal is to improve employment opportunities and infrastructure in backward areas.<sup>182</sup> MGNREGA and other such programs such as the Supplementary Nutrition (ICDS); the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA); Road Connectivity (PMGSY); MGNREGA; Housing (Indira Awas Yojana); Health (NRHM); Electrification (PMGSY); Drinking Water Supply (DWS); Ashram Schools; Forest Rights Act; and National Highways / State Highways have now been subsumed under the IAP, which will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter IV.<sup>183</sup> The government is even devoting security forces to IAP programs; in May 2012, Prime Minister Singh announced the created of ten India Reserve Battalions (IRBs), which are meant to provide security to development project.<sup>184</sup> The government has recently commissioned five battalions of troops to guard one steel mine in Chhattisgarh alone since the plant will likely close in the next few years if sufficient protection from LWE forces is not provided.<sup>185</sup> The CRPF is also working alongside IAP-sponsored programs, such as the construction of railway tracks, in order to ensure the safety of the project workers and the ability to complete the development, since these are commonly Naxalite targets.

As with many such programs, including the IAP, there are reports of corruption and misuse of funds, however, on the whole “it [MGNREGA] has also notched up a remarkable success,” and is beginning to show signs of a positive impact on the prospects for economic investment in LWE-affected areas, as discussed below.<sup>186</sup> In addition to the IAP, the Ministry of Rural Development announced in November 2012 that it will begin a “United Nations-assisted livelihood security programme,” in LWE-affected states with the specific purpose of combating Naxalism by supporting the growth of rural

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<sup>182</sup> “Faster, Sustainable and More Inclusive Growth,” 5.

<sup>183</sup> “MIS on Integrated Action Plan for Selected Tribal and Backward Districts (IAPMIS),” E-Gov Products & Services, July 2012: [http://informatics.nic.in/uploads/pdfs/db2ab74a\\_IAPMIS\\_12\\_13.pdf](http://informatics.nic.in/uploads/pdfs/db2ab74a_IAPMIS_12_13.pdf).

<sup>184</sup> “Maoism Continues to be Major Problem: PM,” *Indo-Asian News Service*, May 22, 2012.

<sup>185</sup> “CRPF Chief Briefs PC about Bijapur Encounter,” *Times of India*, July 3, 2012.

<sup>186</sup> “Faster, Sustainable and More Inclusive Growth,” 5.

economies and governance structures.<sup>187</sup> Meanwhile, the central government is also trying to replicate a program that has found success in Andhra Pradesh that seeks to settle land disputes with tribals in LWE-affected regions to assist the adivasi in going through the legal process in order to resolve land dispute cases in a timely manner. The Rural Development Minister has said that tribal land disputes are a primary cause “of the growth of Naxalite ideology in Chhattisgarh, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh and Odisha.”<sup>188</sup> All of these programs demonstrate the central government’s continued commitment to fighting Naxalism by winning the hearts and minds of the people to whom Maoism typically appeals and by addressing the problem at its root.

### **1. Andhra Pradesh**

With the country’s largest state budget and its long history of Naxalism, Andhra Pradesh has been able to use funds to fight LWE not only through police forces, but also through development projects. Since 1989, the state has taken a two-pronged approach towards dealing with the Naxalites, with development being equally important to the fight against LWE as the Greyhounds (although the Greyhounds’ successes garner much more attention than those of the development projects). In fact, unlike most other states that have dealt with Maoist insurgencies, Andhra Pradesh has sponsored development projects specifically focused on combating the Naxalites, much like the IAP.<sup>189</sup> Perhaps the most significant factor to note in Andhra Pradesh’s success in countering the Naxalite threat is that, whether it be through development projects or police activity, the government has a strong presence in Maoist-afflicted regions:

What Chandrababu Naidu perfected as the new Police methodology to tackle and root out the armed Maoist groupings, this has been exceeded in far greater measure and significance by his successor, the Late YS Rajasekhara Reddy (YSR) in his epochal shifting of the direction of State spending towards the Rural Sector, creation of additional irrigation potential (Jalayagnam Scheme), and several Poverty Alleviation Programmes never before seen in India since Independence. The total

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<sup>187</sup> Urmi Goswami, “Gov’t to Launch UN-Aided Plan in 10 Naxal-Infested Districts,” *Economic Times*, November 26, 2012.

<sup>188</sup> Ibid.

<sup>189</sup> Achuthan, “Tackling the Maoists.”

allocations for Rural Sector activities are double that of for all the Urban Sector – Infrastructure Development, and Industrial Promotion activities combined.<sup>190</sup>

This is a testament to how important governance is in fighting against LWE.

## **2. Chhattisgarh**

Chhattisgarh's government's (and before that, Madhya Pradesh's) desire to develop its economy has long led to a lack of state presence in adivasi communities. Its desire to attract investors has led it to pull out of many predominantly tribal regions to make way for investors, leaving a vacuum of governance as well as taking away the sources of the adivasis' livelihoods: "In Chhattisgarh and Madhya Pradesh markets were opened up to multinational and Indian big business firms...through the removal of transit duties. Highways were modernized in Bastar to facilitate the access of industrial traders to the main markets, but the condition of public transport and village...roads was ignored, thus denying access to markets for tribal forest produce collectors."<sup>191</sup> This sort of activity has led many of the local tribals to feel that government development is a negative that is only going to rob them of their lands and leave them more vulnerable to exploitation. All of this has made the region particularly vulnerable to Maoist insurgents.<sup>192</sup> The failure of the state government's security measures to fight against Naxalism seems to have led it to reconsider its developmental approach. Outside of the recently-imposed IAP development projects, there was little evidence of any vigorous attempts at rural development aimed at benefitting the adivasi population directly, not just at attracting investment.

### **D. EFFECTS OF NAXALISM ON ECONOMIC INVESTMENT (DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL)**

In its "Approach to the Twelfth Five Year Plan," released by the Indian Government's Planning Commission in October 2011, the need for rapid economic

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<sup>190</sup> Achuthan, "Tackling the Maoists."

<sup>191</sup> Archana Prasad, "The Political Economy of 'Maoist Violence' in Chhattisgarh," *Social Scientist* 38 (March–April 2010): 6.

<sup>192</sup> *Ibid.*, 3–24.

growth is the first item in a large list of goals for the country. For a movement whose primary goal is to bring down the government, pursuing strategies to attack its economic infrastructure is a wise tactic, which is exactly what the Naxals have done.<sup>193</sup> Despite the global economic slowdown, India still has high hopes for maintaining growth of over 8 percent in order to “generate the income and employment opportunities that were needed for improving living standards for the bulk of the population; and second, to generate the resources needed for financing social sector programmes, aimed at reducing poverty and enabling inclusiveness.”<sup>194</sup>

Because of its economic success in the past five years, especially relative to the rest of the major global economies, the increased economic growth “has led to a substantial increase in government revenues, both at the Centre and the States, resulting in a significant step-up of resources for the programmes aimed at inclusiveness...available evidence suggests that there have been significant gains on many of these fronts.”<sup>195</sup> The Integrated Action Plan could perhaps be considered one of these programs designed with an eye towards inclusiveness. This inclusiveness is, of course, what the Naxalites seem to fear, for the targeted audience of the government’s plans for inclusiveness includes, “Minorities and other excluded groups...to bring them into the mainstream.”<sup>196</sup>

As previously discussed, the Naxalites have historically pursued those who have been marginalized in areas where governance has been weak or virtually non-existent. The Naxalites have attempted in earnest to disrupt the growing economy and to scare away potential investors from financing projects in states that have historically been vulnerable to LWE:

Since 2009, a total number of around 1183 incidents of damage to economic infrastructure by the Maoists have been reported from different parts of the country. The infrastructure destroyed includes property

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<sup>193</sup> “Naxal Attacks on Economic Infrastructure,” Press Information Bureau: Government of India: Ministry of Home Affairs (August 28, 2012).

<sup>194</sup> “Faster, Sustainable and More Inclusive Growth,” 1.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.*, 1–2.

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.



belonging to Public/Private sector units, Railway property, Telephone Exchanges/Mobile towers, Power infrastructure, Roads, School and Panchayat buildings etc. The damage in money terms runs into hundreds of crores [tens of millions of dollars].<sup>197</sup>

The growth that India has experienced since the release of the Eleventh Five Year plan has been particularly notable in that it has “been more broadly shared than ever before across the States...several of the economically weaker States have demonstrated an improvement in their growth areas,” including Chhattisgarh and Andhra Pradesh.<sup>198</sup>

Thus, it seems that despite their best efforts, the Naxalites have not succeeded in upending economic development or scaring away investors altogether. In the last three years, and particularly in 2012, there has been a decline in Naxalite-inflicted destruction of economic infrastructure.<sup>199</sup> This decline seems indicative of the positive effects of the government’s efforts in fighting LWE and of the affirmative power that the government’s involvement in local development projects can deliver in terms of providing governance to populations that have not experienced it before. That is not to say, however, that there is still not great unease over LWE activities within the central and state governments as well as amongst potential investors, showing that the government’s job is not done.<sup>200</sup>

## **E. CONCLUSION**

While the differences in the tribal populations of Chhattisgarh and Andhra Pradesh are not significant, the ways in which the states have dealt with them and with the Naxalite threat that has attracted so many tribals over the decades are important. While Andhra Pradesh saw successes independent of the central government’s involvement based on the state’s anti-Naxalite initiatives started in the 1980s, Chhattisgarh’s programs have by and large fallen short of making any significant gains. With the federal government, as well as the states’, desire to attract new investment to the states and improve the economic and security situations for the adivasi, cooperation

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<sup>197</sup> “Naxal Attacks on Economic Infrastructure,” Press Information Bureau, Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, August 28, 2012.

<sup>198</sup> “Faster, Sustainable and More Inclusive Growth,” 2–3.

<sup>199</sup> “Naxal Attacks on Economic Infrastructure.”

<sup>200</sup> “Faster, Sustainable and More Inclusive Growth,” 3.

between the states and central government is essential. As will be discussed in the next two chapters, the Integrated Action Plan works hard to improve coordination between governments as well as ameliorate the burden placed on the tribals by lack of development and exclusion, all as a means of luring people away from the reasons they are attracted to Maoism: lack of governance.

### **III. INTEGRATED ACTION PLAN AND ITS IMPLEMENTATION IN ANDHRA PRADESH AND CHHATTISGARH**

#### **A. THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S GOALS FOR THE IAP**

India's central government has asserted that the factors that have contributed to the rise of Naxalism are "abysmal poverty, under development and a lack of infrastructure."<sup>201</sup> After decades of embracing a security-focused approach, policymakers have moved toward an approach to fighting the Maoist insurgency that focuses on development. The Union Minister for Rural Development Jairam Ramesh recently stated that it was important to negate the Naxals' influence through "infrastructural development, political empowerment and employment of youths," for example.<sup>202</sup> This is precisely why the federal government introduced the Integrated Action Plan (IAP), the goal of which is to build infrastructure and community development projects to combat Naxalism and, more specifically, to make the regions plagued by Left Wing Extremism (LWE) safer and more attractive to domestic and foreign investors alike. Although the government has not turned its back on using the police and militias to fight the Naxalite insurgents, policymakers are leaning more and more towards the view that Naxalism stems from a lack of development. Thus, the government has begun to invest more heavily and with more calculated implementation in "development initiatives" in regions affected by LWE, which are predominantly rural and underdeveloped.<sup>203</sup>

In a recent meeting of Chief Secretaries from the central government and Police Chiefs from the nine states in which IAP programs have been implemented, there was an assertion that the government needs,

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<sup>201</sup> "The Naxalite Problem: Understanding the Issues, Challenges and Alternative Approaches," *Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies* Conference Report (2012): 14.

<sup>202</sup> "Security Forces Alone Can't Curb Maoists: Jairam Ramesh," *Assam Tribune*, September 10, 2012: [http://rural.nic.in/sites/downloads/news/Security\\_forces\\_alone\\_cant\\_curb\\_Maoists\\_J\\_Ramesh.pdf](http://rural.nic.in/sites/downloads/news/Security_forces_alone_cant_curb_Maoists_J_Ramesh.pdf).

<sup>203</sup> "Annual Report 2011–12," Ministry of Rural Development: Government of India, 74–76: [http://www.rural.nic.in/sites/downloads/annual-report/Annual\\_Report\\_2011\\_12\\_E.pdf](http://www.rural.nic.in/sites/downloads/annual-report/Annual_Report_2011_12_E.pdf).

...to make anti-Naxal operations more holistic by carrying out intelligence-based operations against military companies/platoons of CPI(Maoist) and targeting middle/top leadership of the Naxals, winning hearts and minds of people by a streamlined Civic Action programme, psychological operations at district/units levels and security for infrastructure projects in the affected areas.<sup>204</sup>

The last stated goal of this list is, of course, the primary objective of the projects sponsored under the Integrated Action Plan. Since Prime Minister Singh's 2006 declaration that the Naxalites are India's largest internal security threat, the government has made many proclamations about fighting Naxalism through a "two-pronged approach," using both security forces and development to counter the Maoist threat. It was not until recently, however, that the government started to discuss and fund development projects as seriously as it does paramilitary ones, with the introduction of the IAP.

The Indian government recognizes the complaints of the local populations that the Naxalites typically exploit to garner support for their cause are primarily development and employment-related in regions that have typically been oppressed or neglected by the government and industry. Through a centrally-run program under the supervision of the Home Ministry, and direct cooperation with the states affected by LWE in implementing the IAP, the government is attempting to form some kind of cohesive strategy that prove successful through a population-centric approach. Through development projects in Naxal-afflicted areas, the central government strives to diminish the appeal of the Naxalites and, therefore, attract more domestic and foreign investment. After all, the Naxalites have had the most success in regions that have natural resources that would attract large scale investment.<sup>205</sup>

In the Ministry of Home Affairs Outcome Budget, 2011–2012, there is an entire section devoted to the "Scheme for Reimbursement of Security Related Expenditure (SRE)," in which Left Wing Extremism is a subsection. While it does not use the words

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<sup>204</sup> "Meeting on Bridging the Security Gap in Naxal Areas Today," *Pioneer (India)*, October 18, 2012.

<sup>205</sup> Cheetham, "Naxalite Terrorism and its Effects on the Global Financial Markets," 223.

“Integrated Action Plan” explicitly, the objectives of the central government’s mission in cooperating with the state governments affected by the Naxal insurgency are clearly stated in subsections 4.61 and 4.62:

4.61 Under this scheme, reimbursement is provided by Ministry of Home Affairs to State Governments for security-related expenditure in Naxalite-affected districts in respect of... (vi) security-related infrastructure by village defence committees.

Additionally, the districts that qualify for the SRE schemes are granted approval through a rigorous evaluation process that considers the how long Naxals have been active in the region, the strength and pervasiveness of the Naxalites, how accepting the locals have been in embracing Naxalism, and how effectively the local police have been able to handle the threats posed by the Maoist insurgents.<sup>206</sup>

In this way, the government insures that the funds it devotes to the SRE programs will be used in areas that really need them. While the emphasis of the SRE plan focuses primarily on security issues, the primary stated objective of the central government is to support state initiatives in combating LWE and creating an environment in which development programs, such as those promoted by the IAP, can be successfully implemented.

Recently, as will be discussed in greater detail below, the Ministry of Home Affairs increased the number of districts that the IAP encompasses, believing that it can mitigate the problem in the more at-risk districts by eliminating it in the less at-risk districts initially, building a strong foundation from which to fight against the Naxals in the most-afflicted areas more effectively.<sup>207</sup> By focusing in areas where there is already a strong system of governance in place during the initial phases of the IAP’s implementation, the Ministry of Home Affairs argues, swift improvements can be made that will negate Maoists’ message that they can provide stability within the vacuum of bad governance: “The very idea behind the IAP was to strengthen infrastructural development in government administrative areas to such a level that Maoist propaganda

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<sup>206</sup> Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs: Outcome Budget 2011–2012: 112–113.

<sup>207</sup> “Mind the IAP, as the Babus Squabble Over the Fine Print,” *Tehekle*, September 27, 2012.

of bad governance cannot stand and the people living in their zones also see the fruits of development.”<sup>208</sup> In this way, the IAP can be viewed both as trying to fix the immediate problems posed by LWE and as a preventative measure, to eliminate the appeal of the Naxalites by erasing the conditions that lead people to seek their help.

Furthermore, the IAP is working with and improving upon pre-existing development programs in order to target them directly towards Naxal-affected areas.<sup>209</sup> In its annual report from 2011–2012, the Ministry of Rural Development details the many ways in which pre-existing programs, such as the rural employment program, Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA), and the critical infrastructure construction program, Pradhan Mantri Gram Sadak Yojana (PMGSY), can be tailored in order to best suit the IAP’s objectives and conform to the precarious situations on the ground.<sup>210</sup>

## **B. THE STATES’ GOALS FOR THE IAP**

As is the case with the federal government, Andhra Pradesh and Chhattisgarh’s primary goal in combating Naxalism is attracting private investors to develop industry in the state. In Andhra Pradesh, the Chief Minister of the state “believes that while the government has a role to play in the creation of jobs, it is only the private sector that can create the jobs needed for the growing unemployment populace. The CM is of the view that the government’s principal [*sic*] role in industrial promotion is that of a facilitator which would be good for the investment climate in Andhra Pradesh.”<sup>211</sup> The Chief Minister’s objective is to create 1.5 million jobs by 2015, and hopes that many of those

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<sup>208</sup> “MHA to Resist Revamp of Plan for Maoist-hit Districts,” *Daily News & Analysis*, August 24, 2012.

<sup>209</sup> Saumitra Mohan, “Development Initiatives in Naxal Affected Areas,” *Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies* Article No. 3737 (October 25, 2012): 1.

<sup>210</sup> “Annual Report 2011–12,” Ministry of Rural Development, Government of India, 74–76: [http://www.rural.nic.in/sites/downloads/annual-report/Annual\\_Report\\_2011\\_12\\_E.pdf](http://www.rural.nic.in/sites/downloads/annual-report/Annual_Report_2011_12_E.pdf).

<sup>211</sup> “AP Still the Best Investment Destination: Partnership Summit to Showcase Andhra Pradesh,” Office of the Chief Minister, Government of Andhra Pradesh, January 8, 2012.

jobs will be filled by currently unemployed youth, the demographic most commonly targeted by the Naxalites.<sup>212</sup>

Meanwhile, Chhattisgarh holds the largest reserves of iron ore, coal, limestone and bauxite in all of India and had the highest growth rate of any state in the last two years with 11.49 percent in 2009–2010 and 11.57 percent in 2010–2011.<sup>213</sup> Because of this, the state, which was created only in the year 2000 when it broke away from Madhya Pradesh, should be incredibly appealing to investors, which it has been desperately trying to court in recent years.<sup>214</sup> In November 2012, Chhattisgarh hosted an event called “Credible Chhattisgarh,” which included some of the top Fortune 500 companies in “core sectors like power, steel and cement,” as well as so-called “downstream sectors like IT and related areas, biotech, banking, food processing, herbal products and automobiles.”<sup>215</sup> The state’s Ministry of Commerce and Industry listed a host of reasons why Chhattisgarh should be attractive to potential investors, one of the most significant of which is that the start-up costs of establishing industries are some of the lowest in India.<sup>216</sup> The state’s ultimate goal is to create between 50,000–60,000 new jobs based off of “downstream” investment alone.

Thus, in order to assuage the concerns of and remain attractive to potential investors, who have in the past paid bribes to the Naxalites in order to prevent attacks on their investments, the governments of states where LWE is prevalent are trying to engage in serious development and security measures.<sup>217</sup> Projects under the IAP may be just the way to accomplish this objective: “To be sure, one way—and, perhaps, the only way—forward for the corporates is to cultivate the trust of the locals—who live in miserable

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<sup>212</sup> “AP Still the Best Investment Destination: Partnership Summit to Showcase Andhra Pradesh.”

<sup>213</sup> Subramanian, “In the Red Corridor of Uncertainty,” 59.

<sup>214</sup> “Chhattisgarh Government Announces Relief Package for Naya Raipur Farmers,” *Jagan Post*, October 29, 2012, <http://post.jagran.com/chhattisgarh-government-announces-relief-package-for-naya-raipur-farmers-1351496120>; “Raman Singh Hails Development of Chhattisgarh,” *Jagan Post*, October 10, 2012, <http://post.hagran.com/Raman-Singh-hails-development-of-Chhattisgarh-1349868397>.

<sup>215</sup> “‘Credible Chhattisgarh’ to Host First Global Investors Meet,” *Jagan Post*, October 16, 2012, <http://post.jagran.com/Credible-Chhattisgarh-to-host-first-global-investors-meet-1350372910>.

<sup>216</sup> Ibid.

<sup>217</sup> Suresh Nair, “Essar Steel Official Arrested for Paying Protection Money to Maoist Rebels,” *Metal Bulletin Daily* 280 (September 23, 2011): 226; Chenoy, *Maoist and Other Armed Conflicts*, 65.

conditions—by engaging with the local people.”<sup>218</sup> According to the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh: “The Integrated Action Plan will pave the way for alround [*sic*] development of these eight districts. It will also result in weaning away the unemployed youth belonging to the poor and downtrodden from being attracted to extremist ideology.”<sup>219</sup>

### C. IMPLEMENTATION BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

While the federal government aims to have the programs under the IAP implemented by the Naxal-affected states themselves, the Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA) ultimately is in charge of the dispersal of the funding for the projects, and, therefore, has quite a bit of power. In its Annual Report of 2011–12, the MHA describes its Naxal Management Division’s duties as combating Naxalism through security and development measures, monitoring the successes of the various Naxal-plagued states’ action plans to counter LWE, as well as the application of development strategies being executed by divisions of the central government in order to assure that funds are being allocated properly and effectively.<sup>220</sup> At present, the IAP is the key in the Division’s support of developmental projects. At its inception, the Planning Commission determined that there were 35 LWE-affected districts in nine states, where it was important to target Naxalism through development projects as a part of the IAP. These 35 districts “were a sub-set of the 83 LWE affected districts identified by the Ministry of Home Affairs for coverage under its SRE Scheme. This sub-set consisted of those districts where more than 20% of the Police Stations experienced some incidents of naxal violence.”<sup>221</sup> Now, the number of districts in which IAP projects are in development is over 80.<sup>222</sup>

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<sup>218</sup> Subramanian, “In the Red Corridor of Uncertainty,” 62.

<sup>219</sup> “Six More Districts of A.P. Under IAP,” Office of the Chief Minister, Government of Andhra Pradesh, January 19, 2012.

<sup>220</sup> “Annual Report, 2011–12,” Government of India: Ministry of Home Affairs, 4: [http://www.mha.nic.in/pdfs/AR\(E\)1112.pdf](http://www.mha.nic.in/pdfs/AR(E)1112.pdf).

<sup>221</sup> “Integrated Action Plan to Develop Tribal and Backward Districts in LWE Areas,” Press Information Bureau, Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, January 10, 2012: <http://pib.nic.in/newsite/erelease.aspx?relid=79472>.

<sup>222</sup> “Mind the IAP, as the Babus Squabble Over the Fine Print.”



The central government gives block grants to each designated district for the district to invest in the projects it deems most essential. During the IAP's first year, 2010–2011, block grants of Rs. 25 crore (the equivalent of about 5 million U.S. dollars) were given to affected districts. In the past year, 2011–2012, that amount was increased to Rs. 30 crore (the equivalent of about 5.5 million U.S. dollars). These grants did not come with strict guidelines or monitoring on a federal level to make sure the funds were being spent in the manner in which they were intended. The central government wanted to give the states the flexibility to spend the funds for IAP projects in areas where they felt it was needed most, depending on local conditions. The states are responsible for presenting plans “consisting of concrete proposals for public infrastructure and services such as School Buildings, Anganwadi Centres, Primary Health Centres, Drinking Water Supply, Village Roads, Electric Lights in public places such as PHCs and Schools, etc.”<sup>223</sup> Direct monitoring of the plans' implementation and the states' use of funds is the job of the state-level Development Commissioner.<sup>224</sup>

At the federal level, monitoring of how the IAP-dedicated funds are spent is conducted through the “IAPMIS” (Integrated Action Plan Monitoring Information System), in an attempt to bring “Government closer to citizens and making it more transparent and approachable.”<sup>225</sup> This program was designed to further the Central Government's attempts to synthesize its own anti-Naxalite efforts with the affected states. IAPMIS is a website on which districts that receive IAP funding must post monthly progress reports on the various IAP-sponsored projects. The website is accessible to the public in the hopes that it will encourage people about the improvements being made via the development schemes, deterring them from joining the Maoist insurgency.<sup>226</sup> The ultimate intent of the program is to allow the Central Government's Planning Commission to determine the most effective ways in which the IAP has been used in

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<sup>223</sup> “Integrated Action Plan to Develop Tribal and Backward Districts in LWE Areas,” Press Information Bureau, Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, January 10, 2012: <http://pib.nic.in/newsite/erelease.aspx?relid=79472>.

<sup>224</sup> Ibid.

<sup>225</sup> “MIS on Integrated Action Plan for Selected Tribal and Backward Districts (IAPMIS),” E-Gov Products & Services, July 2012: [http://informatics.nic.in/uploads/pdfs/db2ab74a\\_IAPMIS\\_12\\_13.pdf](http://informatics.nic.in/uploads/pdfs/db2ab74a_IAPMIS_12_13.pdf).

<sup>226</sup> Ibid.

order to incorporate those into the forthcoming Twelfth Five Year Plan and develop future strategies.<sup>227</sup>

Under this system, members of the Planning Commission hold regular videoconferences with District Magistrates, Collectors, and Chief Secretaries of the nine states in which the IAP has been implemented. Additionally, the website is updated on a monthly basis in order to monitor the progress of the IAP projects and to figure out the best ways to modify the programs “in order to bring them in line with the aspiration of our people in these selected backward and tribal districts.”<sup>228</sup> This program is a huge step forward in terms of connecting federal and state efforts in the fight against LWE. Unfortunately, while there are many statistics and data posted on the website as well as pictures of various successful projects, there is little to no information on the actual implementation of the projects or if they are having the intended effect of reducing LWE in the districts in which they have been implemented.

Because the states are ultimately in charge of how the funds are spent, however, there has been widespread complaint that areas where Naxal violence is minimal, or even nonexistent, have received funding. The states have directed funds to areas where they want to encourage economic growth, but that are not necessarily Naxal-afflicted. This has led to calls for reform from some prominent government officials:

Citing several lacunae in the implementation of Integrated Action Plan in Naxal-hit districts, Union Minister Jairam Ramesh today said the Centre’s ambitious scheme should be restructured to give more focus on districts severely affected by the Maoist menace. “Today we have 82 IAP districts. Out of the 82, [the] Naxal problem is most acute in about 25 districts. But we are treating all districts identically...”<sup>229</sup>

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<sup>227</sup> “Integrated Action Plan to Develop Tribal and Backward Districts in LWE Areas,” Press Information Bureau: Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, January 10, 2012: <http://pib.nic.in/newsite/erelease.aspx?relid=79472>.

<sup>228</sup> “MIS on Integrated Action Plan for Selected Tribal and Backward Districts (IAPMIS),” E-Gov Products & Services, July 2012: [http://informatics.nic.in/uploads/pdfs/db2ab74a\\_IAPMIS\\_12\\_13.pdf](http://informatics.nic.in/uploads/pdfs/db2ab74a_IAPMIS_12_13.pdf).

<sup>229</sup> “Integrated Action Plan Needs Change for Naxal Areas: Ramesh,” *Firstpost*, July 18, 2012, accessed September 15, 2012, <http://www.firstpost.com/fwire/integrated-action-plan-needs-change-for-naxal-areas-ramesh-382191.html>.

Many have proposed a system in which Naxal-affected districts would receive IAP funding based on a pro-rated basis, depending on their needs.<sup>230</sup> Ultimately, there seems to be a disconnect between those who see an advantage in rapidly expanding the program by spending funds on areas that are not the worst-hit by the Naxalites in order to produce quick and encouraging results with the intention of popularizing the development programs versus identifying and targeting the hardest-hit regions.

#### **D. IMPLEMENTATION BY THE STATE GOVERNMENT**

At present, the primary responsibility for the success and failure for the IAP relies on the nine states that are the most plagued by LWE. By giving the states the primary responsibility over the IAP program, it was hoped to bridge a trust deficit that exists between state and local governments and “to overcome the governance deficit in Left Wing Extremism (LWE)-affected districts.”<sup>231</sup> The expectation has been that by establishing a strong state presence within local communities and having the state be responsible for positive improvements, the locals would be more likely to view the state as a mechanism for gaining opportunity, as opposed to the Maoist extremists. It, meaning the states and the IAP projects, “intends to win the hearts of locals by providing them with employment opportunities and infrastructure. It was meant to act as an enabler for the government to reach out to inaccessible villages, empower the panchayats and create space for the implementation of other schemes.”<sup>232</sup>

The states are responsible for appointing an IAP supervisory committee, led by a District Collector in charge of introducing “development projects related to infrastructure, health, education and employment in each of the 83 naxal-affected districts. The Committee consists of [a] District Forest Officer and Superintendent of Police.”<sup>233</sup> These committees are to determine which kinds of projects to implement

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<sup>230</sup> Medha Chaturvedi, “Integrated Action Plan in Naxal-Affected Districts: A Critique,” *Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies* Article No. 3743 (October 31, 2012): 2.

<sup>231</sup> “Mind the IAP, as the Babus Squabble Over the Fine Print.”

<sup>232</sup> Ibid.

<sup>233</sup> Saumitra Mohan, “Development Initiatives in Naxal Affected Areas,” *Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies* Article No. 3737 (October 25, 2012): 1.

based on their perceived needs of the Naxal-afflicted areas within their states. The Development Commissioner supervises how those plans are enacted and how the funds dedicated to the IAP are spent. As detailed in the previous section, in order to ensure that the projects are meeting the goals set by the central government the states must provide monthly status reports for the districts that receive IAP funds.<sup>234</sup>

The assortment of infrastructure projects undertaken by the nine states in which the IAP has been implemented have been varied, ranging from: “School Buildings, Anganwadi Centres, Primary Health Centres, Drinking Water Supply, Village Roads, Electric Lights in public places.”<sup>235</sup> In addition, in its 2011–2012 Annual Report, the Ministry of Rural Development instructed that several development programs that were already in operation in order to help improve the status of the rural population in India, totaling over 833 million people, be tailored to meet the needs of the IAP in LWE-affected districts.<sup>236</sup> These programs include: MGNREGA, whose regulations regarding cash payouts have been loosened in IAP districts because of the lack of easily-accessible banks; Indira Awaas Yojana (IAY), which will allow more generous payment and construction options for its target audience (impoverished elderly people) under the IAP; PMGSY, which has received “General approval under Section 2 of Forest (Conservation) Act 1980 for diversion of forest land up to 5 ha for creation of critical public infrastructure projects”<sup>237</sup> in IAP districts; and Aajeevika – National Rural Livelihood Mission (NRLM) – which focuses on helping the rural poor to earn their livings through “sustainable livelihood enhancements and improved access to financial services.”<sup>238</sup> These programs continue to operate, but in areas that have been deemed as Naxalite-affected, they are run under the auspices of the IAP, with a specific focus on combating Naxalism.

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<sup>234</sup> “Integrated Action Plan to Develop Tribal and Backward Districts in LWE Areas,” Press information Bureau, Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, January 10, 2012.

<sup>235</sup> Ibid.

<sup>236</sup> “Faster, Sustainable and More Inclusive Growth.”

<sup>237</sup> “Annual Report 2011–12,” Ministry of Rural Development: Government of India, 74–76: [http://www.rural.nic.in/sites/downloads/annual-report/Annual\\_Report\\_2011\\_12\\_E.pdf](http://www.rural.nic.in/sites/downloads/annual-report/Annual_Report_2011_12_E.pdf).

<sup>238</sup> “Aajeevika–National Rural Livelihood Mission”: <http://aajeevika.in/index.html>.

Perhaps the most significant undertaking of the IAP has been the development of a road system to connect Naxal-affected areas: “Realizing the road connectivity to be a major bottleneck in naxal-affected areas, the Union Government wants to connect each habitation in the IAP district within the next three years.”<sup>239</sup> In order to pull LWE-affected communities out of isolation and make them feel more connected to the state, as well as to give them more access to markets, healthcare and educational facilities, the construction of basic infrastructure is ultimately the primary objective of the IAP. The PMGSY has had well-documented successful results in connecting rural populations and bringing them greater opportunities.<sup>240</sup> Thus, “the Government is...implementing a scheme namely Road Requirement Plan-I for the development of 5477 km of road network in 34 districts in 8 LWE affected states.”<sup>241</sup> In the approach paper for the Twelfth Five Year Plan, increased attention to infrastructure improvement is deemed “critical for sustaining and accelerating growth. Public investment in infrastructure will have to bear a large part of the infrastructure needs in remote areas to improve connectivity and expand the much needed public services.”<sup>242</sup> Furthermore, it singles out regions in which the Naxalites are active as being particularly in need of roads with the intent of making them feel more connected to the broader population and the state.<sup>243</sup> The state strives to use the successful completion of road construction to demonstrate that it can provide positive services to LWE-afflicted regions as well as fill the governance vacuum.

PMGSY, which has been incorporated into the IAP, is funded by the central government but implemented by the states: “According to sources, the new highways will link the interior regions in these states [those affected by Naxalite insurgency] with the mainstream Indian economy,” which, of course, is one of the primary objectives of the

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<sup>239</sup> Saumitra Mohan, “Development Initiatives in Naxal Affected Areas,” *Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies* Article No. 3737 (October 25, 2012): 1.

<sup>240</sup> “Faster, Sustainable and More Inclusive Growth,” 41.

<sup>241</sup> “Centre Implementing Integrated Action Plan in 9 LWE Affect States: Home Ministry,” *Asian News International*, May 15, 2012.

<sup>242</sup> “Faster, Sustainable and More Inclusive Growth,” 9.

<sup>243</sup> *Ibid.*, 41.

IAP.<sup>244</sup> These projects have clearly shaken the Naxalites, as they have taken on “a campaign to destroy infrastructure being developed in such backward areas. In just the first three months of this calendar year [2012], there were 88 attacks on roads, bridges, culverts, railway tracks...As a result, many government officials are wary of entering these remote areas to tabulate data for the government’s rural roads and rural electrification programmes,” making it difficult to determine the exact effectiveness of the IAP.<sup>245</sup> The data provided through the IAPMIS system, however, show that many more roads are being completed than destroyed.<sup>246</sup> The “surge” in development spending seems to be working.

In considering the impact of the IAP, it is important to evaluate its implementation in states that already had well-funded development programs in place prior to the introduction of the IAP, as in Andhra Pradesh, as well as states where development was lacking or non-existent, as is the case with Chhattisgarh. Although not definitive, a corresponding decline in Naxal-related violence and completion of IAP-funded projects would seem to suggest that the IAP has been working in both states. While it may be more difficult to make the case for the IAP’s success in Andhra Pradesh, given the state’s relatively long history of explicit anti-Naxal measures, the case for the IAP’s success in Chhattisgarh seems strong. While good governance has enjoyed a long history in Andhra Pradesh, this has not been the case in Chhattisgarh. The success of the IAP may show just how desperate the population of Chhattisgarh has been for some kind of positive state presence.

## **1. Andhra Pradesh**

While it is true that Andhra Pradesh has had the most success in combatting the Naxals out of all LWE-affected states, it is also true that it has been implementing counterinsurgency operations for much longer than any other state dealing with the LWE

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<sup>244</sup> “Highway Upgradation in Naxal Areas Makes Slow Progress,” *Commercial Vehicle*, August 16, 2012.

<sup>245</sup> Ibid.

<sup>246</sup> “Progress Report: Road Connectivity,” IAPMIS:  
<http://pcserver.nic.in/iapmis/ReportAllStatesPMGSY.aspx>.

problem. The oft-cited Greyhound police force was founded in 1989, much earlier than any of the other special forces designed to fight the Naxals. Additionally, the state implemented “a comprehensive rehabilitation package...to help those Maoists who have laid down their arms to rebuild their lives.”<sup>247</sup> The state government has long recognized that local development will lead those who might be attracted to the Naxalite message to have a more favorable opinion of the state and, thus, be less likely to engage in violent rebellion.<sup>248</sup> Furthermore, the state realized that the more trust it garnered through local community development projects, the more the local populations in Naxal-afflicted areas would help it in its mission by providing intelligence and not taking up arms against the local government, tamping down on Naxal influence.<sup>249</sup> Because of its already-established local development programs, it is difficult to measure the impact that the implementation of the IAP has had. It is clear, however, that, despite the fact that many have argued that Andhra Pradesh’s use of a sophisticated and well-coordinated state police force has been the primary or even sole source of its success in fighting the Naxals, development projects have played a key role in this as well.

The fact that the government of Andhra Pradesh has invested heavily in a variety of Integrated Action Plan-sponsored projects is proof positive that it views the need for a creative and collaborative approach to dealing with the Naxals and preventing a resurgence of LWE activity. In fact, in January 2012, the state requested that six more districts be considered to inclusion under the IAP as, “The programme has already proved to be a success in the districts where it is being implemented.”<sup>250</sup> Out of all nine states that have been granted IAP funds, Andhra Pradesh is “at the top in terms of percentage expenditure.”<sup>251</sup>

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<sup>247</sup> Anusha Subramanian, “In the Red Corridor of Uncertainty,” *Business Today*, May 16, 2010, 62.

<sup>248</sup> *The Naxalite Problem: Understanding the Issues, Challenges and Alternative Approaches*, IPCS Conference Report, 12.

<sup>249</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>250</sup> “Six More Districts of A.P. Under IAP,” Office of the Chief Minister: Government of Andhra Pradesh, January 19, 2012.

<sup>251</sup> “Anti-Red Funds: State Third Best in Spend,” *Times of India*, October 20, 2012.

The state has embraced the central government's innovative Rural Development Fellowship program, which will place highly educated young men and women in Naxal-affected regions, with the hope that they will develop new, creative concepts for the implementation of development programs.<sup>252</sup> Andhra Pradesh is allotting R1 crore to be granted towards the projects that the fellows develop. Like District Commissioners, the fellows will be required to submit monthly and annual progress reports on the success of IAP schemes in their assigned districts.<sup>253</sup> Although this project was developed by the Prime Minister, it is to be implemented by the states and accountable to them, not the central government. This demonstrates the central government's belief that more local control is pivotal in the success of the Integrated Action Plan projects and to combating Naxalism generally.<sup>254</sup>

The state has also supported the IAP's ambitious goal of connecting Naxal-affected districts under the PMGSY. The hope is that by providing basic infrastructure by way of roads, the communities will not be so isolated and thus not so susceptible to anti-government propaganda promoted by the Naxalites:

The programme envisages connecting all eligible unconnected habitations...with a population of 500 persons and above in plain areas and 250 persons and above in Hill States, Tribal (Schedule V) areas, the Desert Areas (as identified in Desert Development Programme) and in the Selected Tribal and Backward Districts under Integrated Action Plan (IAP) as identified by the Ministry of Home Affairs/Planning Commission.<sup>255</sup>

According to the National Rural Roads Development Agency (NRRDA), Andhra Pradesh produced some of the best results compared to the other nine LWE-affected states in its implementation of the rural road connectivity in its efforts to combat the Naxals with 982 total projects commissioned. Of the projects, 356 had been completed, and 334 of those were deemed "satisfactory" by inspectors. (The remaining 22 were found

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<sup>252</sup> "Centre Looks to Youth to Uplift Rural Regions," *Hindustan Times*, June 4, 2012.

<sup>253</sup> Ibid.

<sup>254</sup> Ibid.

<sup>255</sup> "278 Rural Roads Connectivity for Andhra Pradesh Cleared," *eGov*, September 5, 2012.



“unsatisfactory.”) There are 626 projects still underway, 531 of which are considered satisfactory, and 95 of which are not.<sup>256</sup>

Of the programs listed as a part of the IAP in the Ministry of Rural Development’s 2011–2012 Annual Report, the findings for Andhra Pradesh are as follows (excluding the PMGSY, which has already been evaluated):

**MGNREGA** (For districts covered under IAP: Adilabad, Khammam, Visakhapatnam, East Godavari, Warangal, Karimnagar, Srikakulam, and Vizianagaram as of November 2012)<sup>257</sup>

Total number of works completed: 1,245

Total number of works in progress: 972,220

Total number of works approved but not yet in progress: 2,071,287

Total number of works proposed but not yet approved: 2194

**IAY:** In IAP-covered districts in Andhra Pradesh, the IAY has made huge progress within the last calendar year alone, with the construction of 13,322 sanitary latrines.<sup>258</sup>

**NRLM:** This program had little numerical data available. Instead, what its “Programme Implementation Plan” made clear when discussing the effects of NRLM projects was the difference that strong governance makes, consistently upholding Andhra Pradesh as an example for its excellent program implementation, while listing Chhattisgarh as one of the states in which the successful application of NRLM’s objectives was very difficult:

The mobilization gap is considerably larger for states like Bihar, Jharkhand, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Orissa and Chhattisgarh, in respect of which only an average of 14 percent of the rural poor households are organized, compared to an average of 87.5 percent of the rural households being organized in Andhra Pradesh,

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<sup>256</sup> “Annual Report 2010–11,” National Rural Roads Development Agency: Ministry of Rural Development: Government of India, 45: [http://pmgsy.nic.in/downloads/anrpt10-11\\_E.pdf](http://pmgsy.nic.in/downloads/anrpt10-11_E.pdf).

<sup>257</sup> MGNREGA Report for Andhra Pradesh: [http://nrega.nic.in/netnrega/writereaddata/citizen\\_out/phy\\_prf\\_02\\_local\\_1213\\_out.html](http://nrega.nic.in/netnrega/writereaddata/citizen_out/phy_prf_02_local_1213_out.html).

<sup>258</sup> Indira Awaas Yojana Convergence Report: [http://iay.nic.in/netiay/rural/month1.aspx?flag=3&state\\_code=02&fin=2012-2013&dist\\_cat=N](http://iay.nic.in/netiay/rural/month1.aspx?flag=3&state_code=02&fin=2012-2013&dist_cat=N).

Kerala, and Tamil Nadu. The experiences from dairy cooperatives in Gujarat and the self-help movement in Andhra Pradesh and Kerala show that community institutions create significant system-wide impacts, changing the rules of the game in favor of the poor.<sup>259</sup>

This last example is perhaps the most telling in terms of the differences between Andhra Pradesh and Chhattisgarh. While Chhattisgarh prevailed in its IAP implementation in relation to what it had before the advent of the IAP, it still lags far behind Andhra Pradesh on many levels because of the simple fact that the state has not had a strong presence in rural regions for decades, first in Madhya Pradesh, now in Chhattisgarh.

## **2. Chhattisgarh**

When compared to Andhra Pradesh and its successful legacy of fighting against LWI, one must mention the fact that Chhattisgarh is a relatively new state, having only been formed in 2000, after breaking away from Madhya Pradesh, which has had its own history of weak governance and LWI.<sup>260</sup> The state has a weak police infrastructure and has not been able to cultivate a police force like that of the Greyhounds, outside of the Salwa Judum, which has been outlawed by the Supreme Court, and was largely considered a vigilante organization.<sup>261</sup> Nor has it been able to create and nurture its own successful, anti-Naxalite projects over many years because it is such a new state and such programs take time to design and administer. Considering this, however, the state has been able to make significant progress in terms of implementing IAP projects and confronting the LWI issue head on. In August 2012, Chhattisgarh's Chief Minister Raman Singh implored the state's population to join in the fight against Naxalism, referring to the Naxalites "as the elements inimical to the interests of the country," as he "rejected the claims of the red ultras that they are fighting to protect the interests of the

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<sup>259</sup> "National Rural Livelihoods Mission Programme Implementation Plan," Ministry of Rural Development, Government of India: 3: <http://aaeevika.in/nrlm/PIP-NRLM.pdf>.

<sup>260</sup> "Chhattisgarh Government Announces Relief Package for Naya Raipur Farmers," *Jagran Post*, October 29, 2012: <http://postjagran.com/Chhattisgarh-government-announces-relief-package-for-Naya-Raipur-farmers-1351496>.

<sup>261</sup> Satarupa Bhattacharjya, "Red Terror: Deep in the Jungles of Chhattisgarh, It Is a World of Revolutionary Fantasies and Armed Struggle, Indoctrination and Intimidation: A Report from the Heart of Maoist Insurgency That Poses the Biggest Threat to Internal Security," *India Today*, February 11, 2008.

poor.”<sup>262</sup> Furthermore, Chief Minister Singh emphasized one of the key objectives of the IAP: “...offering jobs to the youths from tribal communities in the state police and other government departments to stop them from being misguided by the anti-national elements.”<sup>263</sup>

Because of the state’s aforementioned desire to attract investment, its approach in implementing the development programs sponsored by the IAP has been vigorous, but due to the lack of governance, has not been as successful as Andhra Pradesh. Still, it is worth noting that, despite the absence of a strong governance structure, notable progress has been made. In its execution of PMGSY, the rural road construction program, as of March 2011, Chhattisgarh has implemented 872 projects, of which 193 have been completed, with 147 of them deemed “satisfactory” by the NRRDA and 46 of them deemed “unsatisfactory.” Of course, this means that there are still 679 ongoing works, with inspectors from the NRRDA declaring 482 of the ongoing projects up to standards and 197 substandard.<sup>264</sup>

Of the programs listed as a part of the IAP in the Ministry of Rural Development’s 2011–2012 Annual Report, the findings for Chhattisgarh are as follows (excluding the PMGSY, which has already been evaluated):

**MGNREGA** (For districts covered under the IAP: Bastar, Bijapur, Dantewada, Jashpur, Kanker, Kawarda, Koriya, Narayanpur, Rajnandgaon, and Surguja as of November 2012)<sup>265</sup>

Total number of works completed: 36,436

Total number of works in progress/suspended: 73,416

Total number of works approved but not yet in progress: 12,543

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<sup>262</sup> “Raman Singh Seeks Public Support to Combat Naxalites,” *Jagan Post*, August 16, 2012: <http://post.jagan.com/Raman-Singh-seeks-public-support-to-combat-Naxalites-1345131043>.

<sup>263</sup> Ibid.

<sup>264</sup> “Annual Report 2010–11,” National Rural Roads Development Agency: Ministry of Rural Development: Government of India, 45: [http://pmgsy.nic.in/downloads/anrpt10-11\\_E.pdf](http://pmgsy.nic.in/downloads/anrpt10-11_E.pdf).

<sup>265</sup> MGNREGA Report for Chhattisgarh: [http://164.100.112.66/netnrega/mpr\\_ht/workstatus\\_mpr.aspx?lflag=eng&state\\_code=33&page=s&month=Latest&fin\\_year=2012-2013&state\\_name=CHHATTISGARH&Digest=+teM9yMWa5xYDBPXnnryZw](http://164.100.112.66/netnrega/mpr_ht/workstatus_mpr.aspx?lflag=eng&state_code=33&page=s&month=Latest&fin_year=2012-2013&state_name=CHHATTISGARH&Digest=+teM9yMWa5xYDBPXnnryZw).

**IAY:** In IAP-covered districts in Chhattisgarh, this program has made a positive impact within the last calendar year alone, with the construction of 2,603 sanitary latrines as well as 1,173 smokeless chullas (several of the IAP districts did not report data).<sup>266</sup> As one can see, however, when compared with Andhra Pradesh's success, Chhattisgarh still lags far behind.

**NRLM:** As mentioned in the Andhra Pradesh section, there was little data available for analysis, but the most significant aspect to be gleaned from the Programme Implementation Plan was the fact that, as with the IAP, the federal government can only go so far in program administration; the responsibility of implementation ultimately lies with the states and if there is a lack of governance, then it is hard for the programs to be a success:

The relationship between the national and state levels is clear—national level facilitates, funds and tracks while the states own and implement. At the national level, what can be done is to identify and create information about different communication practices, based on experience of communications industry and of existing state societies. States will have to take these elements and customize them to suit their conditions, as for example, what works for Andhra Pradesh may not work for Jharkhand [or Chhattisgarh, for that matter].<sup>267</sup>

In addition to the IAP-supported projects, the state is seeking other funds for development projects to combat Naxalism, which are not necessarily part of, but are in the same line of thinking as, the IAP projects there: “Chhattisgarh will invest Rs. 50 crore in Maoist-hit Dantewada district to improve infrastructure of the region,” which will, “lay foundation stones for a series of development works.”<sup>268</sup> Dantewada possesses some of the state's largest mineral deposits and is home to a large number of tribals, thus making it the perfect bastion for the Naxalites, who have had a significant presence there since the late 1980s. The region became especially infamous after the assassination of 76

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<sup>266</sup> Indira Awaas Yojana Convergence Report:  
[http://iay.nic.in/netiay/rural/month1.aspx?flag=3&state\\_code=33&fin=2012-2013&dist\\_cat=N](http://iay.nic.in/netiay/rural/month1.aspx?flag=3&state_code=33&fin=2012-2013&dist_cat=N).

<sup>267</sup> “National Rural Livelihoods Mission Programme Implementation Plan,” Ministry of Rural Development, Government of India: 134: <http://aajeevika.in/nrlm/PIP-NRLM.pdf>.

<sup>268</sup> “Dantewada to Get Rs. 50 Crore for Development Work,” *Jagran Post*, October 15, 2012, accessed October 15, 2012: <http://postjagran.com/Dantewada-to-gat-Rs50-crore-for-development-work-1350297755>.

policemen in one confrontation in April 2010.<sup>269</sup> It is important to note that the substantial amount of money requested is not going towards police forces, but instead towards development projects, indicating a shift in the state's focus in targeting the Naxals.

Currently, there is an attempt to improve and lengthen the highway system in the state in order to smooth the path for development of mines and other resource-generating projects. Unfortunately, the PMGSY, or Road Requirement Plan, as it is otherwise called, has been thwarted in Chhattisgarh due to Naxalite activity in the area, with seven projects running 229 kilometers delayed in the Bastar area of the state.<sup>270</sup> This can be seen as an example of the lack of governance and basic security in Chhattisgarh, in contrast with Andhra Pradesh. Despite this, however, there are positive signs that public and private investors are becoming increasingly bold, perhaps as a reflection of faith that Chhattisgarh's efforts in combating the Naxals are paying off and that the risk is not quite as great as it was only two years ago: "Despite stiff resistance from the Naxalites, the Ministry of Home Affairs...decided to start work...on development of a new iron ore mine, which will feed the Bhilai Steel Plant, and construction of a new railway line in Chhattisgarh to transport minerals."<sup>271</sup>

The construction of railway lines is also one of the IAP's primary objectives as a part of its commitment to improving infrastructure in order to promote connectivity through rural, LWE-affected areas and bring industry and employment to parts of the country where opportunities are limited. Furthermore, in recognition of the fact that those displaced by such projects often wind up resenting the government, becoming perfect targets for Maoist recruitment: "It was also decided to provide financial assistance and employment to nearly 200 people who will be displaced due to construction of the new railway line."<sup>272</sup>

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<sup>269</sup> "Dantewada to Get Rs. 50 Crore for Development Work."

<sup>270</sup> "Development of Roads in Naxalite/Left Wing Extremism Affected Areas," *Targeted News Service*, August 13, 2012.

<sup>271</sup> "Chhattisgarh Mine, Rail Line Work to Begin in December," *Indian Express*, November 1, 2012.

<sup>272</sup> Ibid.

Thus, it seems clear that while progress is being made at the state level, there have been some setbacks due to poor governance and new strategies on the part of the Maoists to directly target IAP-sponsored projects. Perhaps most significantly, the government is showing signs that it is willing to alter its tactics in accordance with on the ground realities.

## **IV. CONCLUSION: EFFECTS OF THE INTEGRATED ACTION PLAN**

### **A. POSITIVE IMPACTS**

In its Annual Report of 2011–2012, the Ministry of Home Affairs reported that considerable successes had been achieved in the fight against LWE. It cautioned that the battle against the Naxalites would continue to be a protracted one: “...this is a long drawn out battle and needs to be persevered with both in terms of operations against the armed elements as well as the all round development of LWE affected areas.”<sup>273</sup>

Since its inception, over 81,000 projects have been approved under the IAP, of which, over 61,000 have been completed, a remarkable feat for a program that has been active for only two years.<sup>274</sup> As of November 2012, “The total funds released so far for the year 2011–2012 is Rs. 1090 crore and the total funds released so far since the commencement of the Scheme is Rs. 2590 crore. Against the total amount of Rs. 2590 crores released so far to the 9 States, the expenditure...is Rs. 1468.83 crore i.e. 56.71% of the funds released.”<sup>275</sup> According to the latest report from the Ministry of Home Affairs, Andhra Pradesh has completed 702 of 1140 projects commissioned, while Chhattisgarh has completed 6115 of 14,718 projects.<sup>276</sup> The projects include: Supplementary Nutrition (ICDS); the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA); Road Connectivity (PMGSY); MGNREGA; Housing (Indira Awas Yojana); Health (NRHM); Electrification (PMGSY); Drinking Water Supply (DWS); Ashram Schools; Forest Rights Act; and National Highways/State Highways/Road construction.<sup>277</sup>

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<sup>273</sup> “Annual Report, 2011–12,” Government of India: Ministry of Home Affairs, 6: [http://www.mha.nic.in/pdfs/AR\(E\)1112.pdf](http://www.mha.nic.in/pdfs/AR(E)1112.pdf).

<sup>274</sup> “Maoist-Hit States Against Move to Bring Integrated Action Plan under Panchayati Raj Ministry,” *The Times of India*, October 19, 2012.

<sup>275</sup> “Integrated Action Plan to Develop Tribal and Backward Districts in LWE Areas,” Press Information Bureau: Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs, January 10, 2012: <http://pib.nic.in/newsite/erelease.aspx?relid=79472>.

<sup>276</sup> Ibid.

<sup>277</sup> “MIS on Integrated Action Plan for Selected Tribal and Backward Districts (IAPMIS),” E-Gov Products & Services, July 2012: [http://informatics.nic.in/uploads/pdfs/db2ab74a\\_IAPMIS\\_12\\_13.pdf](http://informatics.nic.in/uploads/pdfs/db2ab74a_IAPMIS_12_13.pdf).

Soon, one-fifth of the villages under the IAP will have round-the-clock water supply due to development projects launched under the plan: “The Union ministries of finance, new and renewable energy, and drinking water and sanitation have come together to ensure that clean drinking water is supplied to 10,000 naxal-hit villages on a 24/7 basis under the Integrated action plan of the central government.”<sup>278</sup> Given the fact that many of India’s most prominent cities do not enjoy such privileges, this is a huge accomplishment. This is truly an example of federal, state, and local agencies and officials working together in order to make inroads into Maoist-afflicted areas and to demonstrate the positive effects of strong governance, which will develop trust between local populations and the state.<sup>279</sup> Furthermore, it is proof to potential domestic and international investors that the government takes the Maoist threat seriously and is doing everything within its power to negate it and make resource-rich areas, such as Chhattisgarh and Andhra Pradesh, safe for industry. Better still, the new water systems are being built in a low-cost and environmentally friendly way by using solar energy instead of electricity, which again serves to attract positive attention from potential business.

In November 2012, SAIL, a major state-owned company, committed to investing \$8 billion in Chhattisgarh, obviously representing a huge accomplishment for the state.<sup>280</sup> As a testament to how confident the state is about its increasingly safe investment environment, Chhattisgarh Chief Minister Raman Singh addressed the Naxal problem head on in a recent press conference as a part of a global investors meeting, saying that “despite the naxal issues, [the] law and order situation is stable in the state.”<sup>281</sup> He then provided assurances that LWE would not impede upon industry in his state by saying: “NMDC is setting up a steel plant in Bastar, which is one of the affected areas, and is likely to be operational in 2013. So, law and order situation is not a concern for industries

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<sup>278</sup> “Soon, 24/7 Water for 10,000 Naxal-Hit Villages,” *Hindustan Times*, June 13, 2012.

<sup>279</sup> Ibid.

<sup>280</sup> “SAIL Plans \$8 Billion Investment in Chhattisgarh,” *Business Line*, November 2, 2012.

<sup>281</sup> “Chhattisgarh Seeks Investment in Downstream Industries,” *Jagran Post*, October 12, 2012: <http://post.jagran.com/Chhattisgarh-seeks-investment-in-downstream-industries-1350037724>.



to set up unit[s] in the state.’”<sup>282</sup> While the Chief Minister does not directly attribute the increasingly positive investment environment to the IAP, it is clear that the sense of fear that had once dominated the state seems to be subsiding somewhat and that, perhaps more significantly, the infrastructure to attract industry is in place or is well underway.

The state governments seem to finally be getting ahead of the Naxals in terms of their fighting tactics, as well. One of the newest strategies that the Naxals have embraced is the use of children and women as “human shields” in order to prevent the police from attacking and as a means of intelligence gathering, as well.<sup>283</sup> It seems that the Maoists’ attempts to employ children as soldiers are hitting major obstacles due to the IAP, however. In a seemingly direct attempt to counter the Naxals’ recruitment of youth, the state of Jharkhand has introduced a program under the IAP that aims to provide the state’s youth with vocational training in order to mitigate the allure that LWE may hold. The scheme will provide 250 boys and girls mechanical and computer skills at a well-recognized school that guarantees jobs after training has been completed.<sup>284</sup> Because of this, Maoist insurgents have been using increased pressure to try to force youth to join their movements, but to no avail. Even the police recognize that the dramatic turnaround in Naxal recruitment of youth is due to the IAP:

Police claims that this is owing to welfare projects taken up by security forces under Integrated Action Plan (IAP). “Earlier, Maoists lured the youths and promised a fixed salary, which at times went up to Rs 5,000 per month. The situation has changed over the last couple of years as youngsters get jobs in construction projects launched under IAP and are reluctant to live a rebel’s dangerous life,” said a police officer.<sup>285</sup>

Most significantly, the numbers of casualties inflicted by the Maoists speak for themselves. 2012 is on track to have the lowest figures associated with violent Naxal

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<sup>282</sup> “Chhattisgarh Seeks Investment in Downstream Industries,” *Jagran Post*, October 12, 2012: <http://post.jagran.com/Chhattisgarh-seeks-investment-in-downstream-industries-1350037724>.

<sup>283</sup> “Chhattisgarh: Naxals Recruiting Children to Use Them as Shield,” *Jargan Post*, October 4, 2012.

<sup>284</sup> “IAP Keeps Youths from Joining Naxals,” *Pioneer*, October 27, 2012

<sup>285</sup> Sanjay Ojha, “Desperate Reds Resort to Forced Recruitments,” *Times of India*, November 6, 2012, <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/ranchi/Desperate-Reds-resort-to-forced-recruitments/articleshow/17109278.cms>.

action since 2004.<sup>286</sup> Since the implementation of the IAP, the scale of Naxalite attacks has been lessened considerably:

The quantum of violence as well as the resultant killings perpetrated by the Maoists in 2011 was relatively low in comparison to 2010. In the year 2011, as many as 1,755 Naxal incidents took place causing 606 deaths (464 civilian and 142 security forces' casualties) in contrast to 2,213 incidents with 1,005 deaths (720 civilian and 285 security forces' casualties) in 2010.<sup>287</sup>

This trend only seems to be improving in 2012 as "The number of violent incidents involving Maoists dropped this year to 1,198 from 1,760 such incidents in 2011. '2012 could be the first time in nine years that could see number of people killed by Maoists below 500 and number of violent incidents below 1,500,' a senior home ministry official said."<sup>288</sup>

Notably, the greatest decline in Naxal-inflicted violence has been in Chhattisgarh, where Chief Minister Raman Singh has called substantial attention to the Naxalite problem and has invested heavily in both security and development projects specifically targeted at derailing the Naxal influence: "The casualties at the hands of Maoists in Chhattisgarh have halved - from 181 in the first ten months last year to just 93 this year. In 2010, 343 people were killed just in Chhattisgarh, including the 75 CRPF men killed by Maoists in Dantewada."<sup>289</sup> While a consolidation in the Central Reserve Police Force's strategies have no doubt helped improve the situation, we have seen such surges before that did not correspond with a subsequent decline in violence.

## **B. SETBACKS**

Despite the many indications of positive improvements brought about by the development projects made possible by the IAP, many obstacles remain in the Indian

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<sup>286</sup> "Maoists' Potency Down: 361 Killed by Ultras Till October 31 vs. 611 Casualties in 2011," *Economic Times*, November 19, 2012: <http://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/politics/nation/maoists-potency-down-361-killed-by-ultras-till-october-31-vs-611-casualties-in-2011/articleshow/17272891.cms>.

<sup>287</sup> "Anti-Naxal Ops Lie Derailed So Far," *Pioneer*, April 28, 2012.

<sup>288</sup> "Maoists' Potency Down."

<sup>289</sup> *Ibid.*

government's efforts to erase Naxalism for good. Although Chhattisgarh and Andhra Pradesh have invested heavily in IAP projects and appear to have used the funds with their intended effect, Naxal-related activity continues to thwart many of the IAP-funded projects.

As significant as the construction of new roads is to combating Naxalism, not to mention an integral part of the IAP, it appears that the rebels have made the destruction of the newly-constructed infrastructure systems a major priority, creating an environment of terror for those hired to build the roads, who are too afraid to go to work. In October of 2012, Maoist insurgents attacked construction workers working on a bridge project as a means of warning others not to participate in construction activities.<sup>290</sup> In the LWE-plagued Sukma district of Chhattisgarh, which is primarily inhabited by tribals, alone:

Of the total 418 kilometers long roads in the district, only six roads—with a total length of 168 kilometers—are in a condition where vehicles can run...Construction work of four other roads of a total length of 250 kms have been thwarted due to Maoist threat, adversely affecting movement of vehicles in the area...The rebels have dug up this road at many places, blew up culverts and laid landmines at several places on this stretch.<sup>291</sup>

These desperate sorts of actions can possibly be seen as the Naxalites' recognition that the more widespread economic development projects become, the less successful they will be in attracting new recruits and disrupting the spread of governance. It is still impossible to predict whether this is true, however. The central government seems to have enough faith in the prospects and the results of the IAP to continue it for the time being, although it is going to rework aspects of it in order to give more power to the local governments involved.

### **C. LOOKING AHEAD: IMPLEMENTATION AT THE COMMUNITY LEVEL**

At the moment, a debate is raging between the leaders of the Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA) and the Ministry of Rural Development (MoRD) over the role of the

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<sup>290</sup> "Indian Rebels Recant 'Brutal' Slayings," *UPI*, November 2, 2012.

<sup>291</sup> "Maoist Terror Hits Road Development Work in Sukma," *Times of India*, October 23, 2012.

Ministry of Panchayati Raj and Tribal Affairs in the implementation of the IAP. The Ministry of Home Affairs would like to maintain the status quo of the state-level “Committee headed by the District Collector (DC) assisted by the Superintendent of Police (SP) of the district and the Divisional Forest Officer (DFO).”<sup>292</sup>

The Ministry of Rural Development, on the other hand, would like funding for IAP projects to be directed to local committees and officials, such as the Panchayat and Gram Sabhas.<sup>293</sup> The Gram Panchayats and Gram Sabhas are similar to village councils that conduct deliberative polling in order to get local villagers’ opinions on issues confronting their communities; the Panchayati Raj serves as a sort of intermediary between the state government and the villagers. Traditionally, these forums are where local development projects have originated.<sup>294</sup> Without the involvement of Panchayati Raj institutions in IAP projects, the MoRD argues, the local populations feel left out and alienated, as opposed to included and able to take pride in what they have constructed. Furthermore, the MoRD argues that, without the “active involvement of local elected representatives...the money does not get spend [*sic*] where it should be.”<sup>295</sup> By incorporating local, tribal populations into the planning and implementation of the schemes more and more in the future, it is hoped that the tribals will feel pride in ownership as well as be able to see the positive effects that state-sponsored development can bring. The MHA takes a different view, believing that maintaining the current system will help the state-level administration to build more trust in Naxalite-affected regions.<sup>296</sup>

At present, however, community-level organizations have little to do with the course that the IAP projects take. Unfortunately, this is a cause of tension between the local communities and tribals and those actually in charge of determining which projects will be pursued and where: “In the absence of local representatives, the Divisional Forest

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<sup>292</sup> Medha Chaturvedi, “Integrated Action Plan in Naxal-Affected Districts: A Critique,” *Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies* Article No. 3743 (October 31, 2012): 1.

<sup>293</sup> Ibid.

<sup>294</sup> Anne-Katrin Arnold, “Measuring Public Opinion in Challenging Contexts,” *World Bank Blog: People, Spaces, Deliberation*, March 28, 2011, <http://blogs.worldbank.org/publicsphere/node/5689>.

<sup>295</sup> “Move to Scuttle Plan for Naxal Areas May Irk MHA,” *Hindustan Times*, July 30, 2012.

<sup>296</sup> Chaturvedi, “Integrated Action Plan in Naxal-Affected Districts,” 1.

Officer and Superintendent of Police are two authorities whom the locals see as a part of the problem.”<sup>297</sup> This is not to say, however, that members of the community are completely excluded from participating in the actual development projects themselves.

In late October 2012, the Government of India’s Planning Commission recommended the adoption of the plan put forth by the Ministry of Rural Development beginning in 2012–2013. There will be much more involvement of the Gram Panchayats and Gram Sabhas, as the IAP program will be merged under the Backward Regions Grant Fund, also known as the Backward Rural Grant Fund, (BRGF).<sup>298</sup> The IAP could, in effect, be considered a supplementary program to the BRGF, which is meant to correct uneven development in rural regions, but whose focus is not specifically combating Naxalism.<sup>299</sup> The BRGF was created in 2006 in order to spur development in rural, backwards regions and, thus, to promote economic investment in the broader state.<sup>300</sup> Much more than the original mandate for the IAP, the BRGF’s charter emphasizes the importance of the participation of the “Panchayat and Municipality level governance with more appropriate capacity building, to facilitate participatory planning, decision making, implementation and monitoring, to reflect local felt needs.”<sup>301</sup>

The soon-to-be published Twelfth Five Year Plan, released by the Planning Commission, calls for “a greater coherence among all these Special Plans,” such as the Backward Regions Grant Fund and the Integrated Action Plan.<sup>302</sup> Accordingly:

The funds provided for the last three years of the Twelfth Plan through this BRGF window for these central Indian tribal districts [in which Maoist activity is particularly strong] should be spent on programmes to be developed within each district in a ‘bottom-up’ and participatory manner. The Centre will not specify anything beyond the heads on which

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<sup>297</sup> Chaturvedi, “Integrated Action Plan in Naxal-Affected Districts,” 1.

<sup>298</sup> Bharti Jain, “Govt’s Naxalite Outreach Plan to Rope in Local Communities,” *Times of India*, October 30, 2012.

<sup>299</sup> “Backward Region Grant Fund Programme Guidelines,” Ministry of Panchayati Raj: Government of India (January 2007): 4, [http://www.cgsird.gov.in/BRGFFINALGUIDELINES\\_English.pdf](http://www.cgsird.gov.in/BRGFFINALGUIDELINES_English.pdf).

<sup>300</sup> “Backward Regions Grants Fund; BRGF,” *South Asian Government News*, July 15, 2012.

<sup>301</sup> “Backward Region Grant Fund Programme Guidelines.”

<sup>302</sup> “Faster, Sustainable and More Inclusive Growth,” 106.

this money should be spent, so long as the districts adhere to this decentralized process of formulating the programmes.<sup>303</sup>

Furthermore, under the merged programs, there would be much greater accountability than exists under the present IAP program: “Progress could be monitored against the list of indicators developed by the Planning Commission and additional funds in the next three years would be given only to those districts which show progress against these indicators.”<sup>304</sup> This would ameliorate the concerns of many who worry that, as it is currently practiced, the IAP is not implemented in a manner that is most effective to combat Naxalism since the local governments have little involvement.

Under the Twelfth Action plan, the IAP will be redesigned to focus on narrow “blocks,” wherein LWE activity is widespread, as opposed to the current system of allocating funds to broader “districts,” which encompass both areas affected by Naxal activity and those that are not, and:

The funding under the IAP will [be] incentivized, with blocks that fulfill certain criterion eventually getting more money than the less-performing ones. So, a block that succeeds in building capacity to ensure solid human resources support to the block administration, follows the decentralized planning system, implements the Forest Right Act (FRA) and improves utilization of funds allocated in the initial years of the 12th Plan, will get more funding in the outlay’s fourth and final year.<sup>305</sup>

The new plan will provide “funding of development initiatives at the supra-district, district and sub-district level,” and, despite the fact that the IAP will now be part of the BRGF, the government is adamant that it will only add to the IAP’s success: “...as a component of the BRGF, [the IAP] would be a much bigger and focused programme,” with more districts being adopted into it.<sup>306</sup> These recent developments demonstrate the central government’s willingness to alter its approach to fighting Naxalism depending on the conditions on the ground and the successes or failures of projects.

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<sup>303</sup> “Faster, Sustainable and More Inclusive Growth,” 107.

<sup>304</sup> Ibid., 106

<sup>305</sup> “Government’s Naxalite Outreach Plan to Rope in Local Communities.”

<sup>306</sup> Ibid.

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